

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN HIS  
Solitudes and Sufferings.

Whereunto are annexed His  
PRAIERS and APOPHTHEGMS. &c.

ROM. 8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

*Hee being dead* c  *yet speaketh.*  
Hebr. 11. vers. 4.

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*H. D. Smith*



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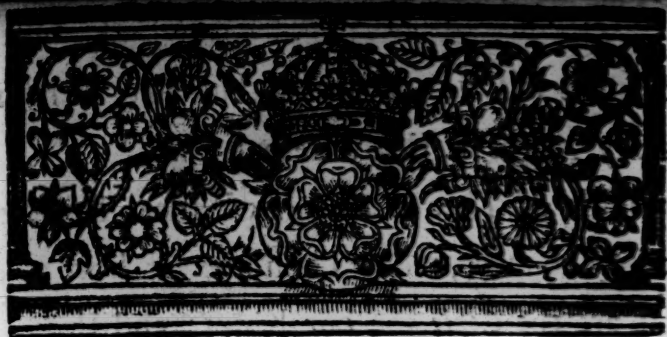
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Upon His Sacred Majesties incomparable  
'EIKΩN BΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'.

Dread Sir!

**C**ouldst thou before thy death have giv'n, what wee  
Might ask, Thy Book had been the Legacie.

Thy Will can make but Heirs of Monarchie;

But This doth make each man an Heir of Thee.

Blèst Soul! Thou art now mounted up on High,

Beyond our Reach, yet not above our Eie.

Lo here Thy other-Self: Thus Thou canst bee

In Heav'n and Earth, without Ubiquitie.

Like This Thou hast no Picture: So Divine,

Might anie Image bee ador'd, 't were Thine.

So curious is this Work; 'tis easily known,

'Twas drawn by no man's Pensil, but Thine own.

None could expresse a King, but Thou: Wee see,

Men cannot, Gods may limn a Deitie.

The Style betraie's a King, the Art a Man,

The high Devotion speake's a Christian:

A

These

These meet in CHARLS alone; but *Hee*, there's none  
So fully *All*, as if *Hee* were but *One*:  
How short of Thee is *Balzack's* Prince; *Hee* knew  
Not how to *think*, what Thou knew'st how to *do*:  
Thou art the *Copie* for our Kings: and *Hee*  
Shall still bee best, that frame's Himself by Thee:  
Thy Work's a *Practick Pattern* for Thy Son,  
Who, having this, shall need no *Xenophon*.  
They that would know thy Parts, must read Thee: Look,  
You'l finde each *Line* a *Page*, each *Page* a *Book*:  
Each *Comma* is so full, each *Colon* good,  
'Tis Pitie, death did put a *Period*.  
Great *Tullie* had been silenc'd amongst men,  
Had but Thy *Tongue* been equal to Thy *Pen*:  
But this *Defect* doth prove Thy skil more choice,  
That make's the *Eccho* sweeter then the *voice*:  
Our *Bodley's* shelves will now bee full; No man  
Will want more Books; This one's a *Vatican*.  
Yet 'tis but CHARLS contracted: Since His fall,  
Heav'n hath the *Volume*, Earth the *Manual*.

F. N. G.



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ook,

7

10

cretion

cretion of other Gentlemen would allaie and fix  
 the Commons to a due temperament (guiding  
 som men's wel-meaning zeal by such Rules of  
 Moderation as are best both to preserv and re-  
 5 store the health of all States and Kingdoms) No  
 man was better pleased with the convening of  
 this Parliameut, then My self; who, knowing best  
 the largeness of My own Heart toward My Peo-  
 ple's good, and just contentment, pleased My self  
 10 most in that good and firm understanding which  
 would hence grow between Mee and My People.

All jealousies beeing laid aside, My own and My  
 Children's Interests gave Mee manie obligations  
 to seek and preserv the love and welfare of My  
 15 Subjects; the onely temporal blessing that is left  
 to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest  
 honor and safetie, next God's protection. I cared  
 not to lessen My self in som things of My wonted  
 Prerogative, since I knew I could bee no loser, if  
 20 I might but gain a recompens in My Subject's  
 affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but  
 Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of  
 those that were factiously discontented, if they did  
 25 but pretend to anie modest and sober sens.

The *Odium* and offenses, which som men's ri-  
 gor or remisness in Church and State had con-  
 tracted upon My Government, I resolved to have  
 expiated by such Laws and regulations for the  
 30 future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss  
 in Practice; but supplie what was defective in the  
 con-



Constitution : No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order then My self ; whom it most concern's both in Pietie, and Policie, as knowing, that, *No flames of civil dissensions are more dangerous then those which make religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.*

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advise in Parliament bee convinced to bee amiss ; and to grant whatever My Reason and 10 Conscience told Mee was fit to bee desired ; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgment to have been over-born in som things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments ; My confidence 15 had less betraied My self and My Kingdoms to those advantages, which som men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But, our sins beeing ripe, there was no preventing of God's Justice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Prosperitie. 20

*For Thou, O Lord, hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.* 25

*Our sins have overlaid our hopes ; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy Mercies to forgive, not on our purposes to amend.* 30



When thou hast vindicated thy Glorie by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to pleas thee; Then I trust thy Mercies will restore those blessings to  
5 us, which wee have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timelie repentance of our sins, thou givest us caus to repent of those Remedies wee too late applie.

- 10 Yet I do not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; becaus, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to Thy Glorie, and My People's Good.

The Miseries which have ensued upon Mee and My Kingdoms are the just effects of thy displeasure upon  
15 us; and may bee yet (through thy Mercie) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enioie them.

- O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy  
20 rod, as well as thy staff, may comfort us: Then shall wee dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemie, but a Father, when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience and repentance, which becom's  
25 thy Children. I shall have no caus to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Mee and My People unfeignedly to repent of the sins wee have committed.

- Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings,  
30 then our Peace could bee with our sins.

O thou Sovereign Goodness and Wisdom, who overrulest

rulest all our Counsels, over-rule also all our hearts, that the worst things wee suffer by thy Justice, the better wee may bee by thy Mercie.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poison, so let thy Grace turn our Poison into Antidotes. 5

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappie War; so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for My Saviour's sake, Amen. 10

## 2. Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death. 15

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings; and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must needs, (as the Sun) raise manie envious exhalations, which, condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity. 20

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the necessities 30

of Times, and the temper of that People, more then by his own disposition to anie hight and rigor of actions; yet I could never bee convinced of anie such criminousness in him, as willingly to  
 5 expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when, between My own unsatisfiedness in  
 10 Conscience, and a necessitie (as som told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of som people, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Mee well, to chuse rather what was *safe*, then what seemed *just*; preferring the outward peace of  
 15 My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience with God.

And, indeed, I am so far from excusing, or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My  
 20 Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death; That I never bare anie touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an Act of so sinful  
 25 frailtie, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whose Name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by Acts of so high injustice, as no Publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

30 I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to Calm  
 the

the storms of Popular discontents, by stirring up a Tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor hath God's Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacie of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjust-ly) then the people bee displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelihood, I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Mee, then I have done since I gratified som men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Mee to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they: Hee onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Mee not to Consent against the vote of My own Conscience. I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which beeing in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Mee are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his Mercie hath sanctified so to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That *the best rule of Policie is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoiments; and the peace*



of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which  
5 since have sought to gain alike consent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Business.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in  
10 My affairs, against the advise of My Parliament, but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, then anie man living could bee.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so  
15 clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that Houf. And for the Houf of Com-  
20 mons, manie Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford's* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die : who for their integritie in their Votes, were, by posting their Names, ex-  
25 posed to the Popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to  
30 concurr with the condemning Partie, then satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

And



And that after-Act vacating the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tell's the world, that som remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard measure, and such as they would 5 beee verie loth should beee repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for having had anie hand ( and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the color and formalitie 10 of Justice, and pretenses of avoiding Publick mischiefs, which may (I hope) beee som evidence before God and Man, to all posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly that vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappie 15 War, which som men will needs charge on Mee, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall beee, more afraid to take away anie man's life unjustly, then to lose mine own.

20

*But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of sinful compliāce, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man; since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him, and by My Place should, at least so far, have been a Preserver of 25 him, as to have denied My consent to his destruction.*

*O Lord, I acknowledg My transgression, and My sin is ever before Mee.*

*Deliver Mee from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of My salvation, and My tongue shall sing of thy Righteousness. 30*

*Against*

Against Thee have I sinned, and don this evil in Thy sight, for Thou sawest the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet cast Mee not away from Thy Presence, purge Mee 5 with the blood of My Redeemer, and I shall bee clean; wash Mee with that pretious effusion, and I shall bee whiter then Snow.

Teach Mee to learn Righteousness by Thy Judgments, and to see My frailtie in Thy Justice: while I 10 was perswaded, by shedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles; Thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Mee, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Mee to prefer Justice, which is Thy will, before 15 fore all contrarie clamors, which are but discoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Mee, to please them by displeasing Thee: O never suffer Mee, for anie Reason of State, to go against My Reason of 20 Conscience, which is highly to sin against Thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, Thou see'st fit to deprive Mee of, yet restore unto Mee the joie of Thy Salvation, and ever uphold Mee with Thy free Spirit, who subject's My will 25 to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shine's in My Soul: for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and integritie in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and My Saviour's 30 Blood, which speak's better things: O make Mee, and My people, to hear the voice of Joie and Gladness, that

*that the bones which Thou hast broken, may rejoice in Thy Salvation.*

3. *Upon His Majestie's going to the House of Commons.* 5

**M**Y going to the House of Commons, to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an Act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could. 10

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears; yea, and manie of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then from Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required. 15

But these men knew not the Just Motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which 20 was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those men's persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engage- 25 ments they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under som men's own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted 30 not such Probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies

jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace, which to preserv by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God  
 5 know's was all My design) could have amounted to no worf effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie: or elf to have cleared their Innocencie, and removed My suspicions: which,  
 10 as they were not raised out of anie malice, so neither were they in Reason to bee smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I sought by all speedie and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness:  
 15 The aspersion which som men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the Houf of Commons, and invade their Privilege, is so fals, that as, God best know's, I had no such intent; so none that attended could justly gather  
 20 from anie thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of anie such thoughts.

That I went attended with som Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majestie and safetie of a King so to bee attended, especially in  
 25 discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more scared at My comming, then I was un-assured of not having som affronts  
 30 cast upon Mee, if I had none with Mee to preserv a Reverence to Mee; for manie people had (at that  
 time)



time ) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Mee, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that Business was this :

Those men and their adherents were then 5 looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My self, and so worthier of their protection. I leav them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no Present impuni- 10 tie, or Popular vindications of them will bee subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, wee must religiously appeal, as beeing an 15 argument to us Christians of that after-unavoidable judgment, which shall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I fore- 20 saw, would in all likelihood follow som men's activitie, if not restrained ; and so now hath don to the undoing of manie thousands ; the more is the pittie :

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or 25 to weaken their just Autoritie by anie violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design : I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance : and I was resolved rather to bear the repuls with 30 patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

*But*



*But Thou, O Lord, art My witness in Heaven, and in My heart : If I have purposed anie violence or oppression against the Innocent : or if there were anie such wickedness in My thoughts ;*

5 *Then let the Enemy persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.*

*Thou that see'st not as man see' th, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of*  
10 *darkness, shew Thy self.*

*Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of My sin, in that matter, more then their Impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their Innocencie.*

15 *But forgive them wherein they have don amifs, though they are not punished for it in this world.*

*Save thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of My heart, and the innocencie*  
20 *of My hands in this matter.*

*Plead My caus, and maintain My right, O Thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in Thy salvation.*

25 4. Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

**I** Never thought anie thing, except our sins, more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in  
30 *London and Westminster, soon after the Convening of this Parliament ; which were not like a storm*  
at

at Sea, which yet want's not its terror ; but like an Earth-quake, shaking the verie foundations of all ; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Argu-  
ments that there is a God, while his power set's  
bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less  
that hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor  
doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure  
against a Nation, then when hee suffer's the con-  
fluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all  
boundaries of Laws and reverence to Autoritie :

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees  
of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the  
Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, me-  
nacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting  
som Members of both Houses, as they phancied  
or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude  
and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptu-  
ous words and actions, to My self and My  
Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking , as  
an Ague ; but a quotidian Fever, alwaies increa-  
sing to higher inflammations , impatient of anie  
mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a Guard against those fears  
which som men scared themselvs & others with-  
all, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee fear-  
ed and less to bee used by wise men then those  
tumultuarie Confluxes of mean and rude people,  
who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect,  
then

then to Dictate, at last to command and Over-awe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters  
5 with reason and candor) must bee taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacie of men, resolved to discharge their Con-  
10 sciences, must bee subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government, Ecclesiastical or Civil, must bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring  
15 forth confusion and ruine, upon Church and State, used the midwiferie of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not staie the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateness befitting a Parliament;  
20 but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most phancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their  
25 out-rages, that no sober man could bee without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anie thing  
30 hee most desired, for the Publick good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means?

But

But *men's passions and God's directions seldom agree. Violent designs and motions must have sutable engines. Such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to God's means. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.* 5

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, som men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance. God in his<sup>10</sup> due time will let these see that those were no fit means to bee used for attaining his ends.

But as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage, when strong windes blow upon it; so neither for multitudes to becom insolent, when they<sup>15</sup> have Men of som reputation for parts and pietie to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, That manie Complaints beeing made, and Messages sent by My self and som of<sup>20</sup> both Houses; yet no order for redress could bee obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was som men's *stupiditie*, that they feared<sup>25</sup> no inconvenience: Other's *petulancie*, that they joied to see their Betters shamefully out-raged and abused, while they knew their onely securitie consisted in vulgar flatterie: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safetie<sup>30</sup> and Honors.



Nor could ever anie order bee obtained impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known *Boutefeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to con-  
5 voke those Tumults, as their advantages served.

Yea, som (who should have been wiser Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil,  
10 who goe's about seeking whom hee may deceiv, and devour.

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from  
15 other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My Self, could take place for the due suppression of these Tumults, and securing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Persons in the streets; I thought My Self not  
20 bound, by My Presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts: I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining som degrees of modestie and sober sens.

25 Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for anie man for Popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it a *hardiness*, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present,  
30 threaten's imminent danger; but to with-draw, give's it space to spend it's furie, and gain's

gain's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a *Gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.*

Som suspected and affirmed that I meditated a 5  
War when I went from *White-Hall* onely to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence: God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would by so manie former, and after-Acts, have so much 10  
weak'ned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War; which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so manie particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto for protection or vindication. 15

Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for withdrawing our selvs from the dailie baitings of the Tumults; not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaid 20  
with in their paws: God, who is My sole Judg and witness in Heaven, knoweth that I never had anie thoughts of going from My Hous at *White-Hall*, if I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quar-  
ter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so; 25  
but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majestie of My Place and Person, the safetie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudeness 30  
and petulancie.

But this business of the Tumults (whereof  
 som have giv'n already an account to God,  
 others yet living know themselves desperately  
 guiltie) Time and the guilt of manie hath so  
 5 smothered up and buried, that I think it best to  
 leav it, as it is; onely, I believ the just Avenger  
 of all disorders will in time make those men, and  
 that Citie see their sin in the glass of their pu-  
 nishment. 'Tis more then an even-laie that they  
 10 may one daie see themselves punished by that way  
 they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's first Elec-  
 tion and Constitution, state full and free, the Mem-  
 bers of both Houses beeing left to their freedom  
 15 of Voting, as in all reason, honor, and Religion  
 they should have been; I doubt not but things  
 would have been so carried, as would have giv'n  
 no less content to all good men, then they wished  
 or expected.

20 For I was resolved to hear reason in all things  
 and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend  
 it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plan-  
 tations; so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Ple-  
 beian concourses to publick Councils, turning  
 25 all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, that had I called  
 this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as  
 I might opportunely enough have don) the sad  
 consequences, in all likelihood, with God's ble-  
 30 ssing, might have been prevented. A *Parliament*  
*would have been welcom in anie place: No place*  
*afforded*

afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who order's our disorders, and magnifie's his wisdom and mercie most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

*But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defens; to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.* 10

*The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon Mee, and are readie to overwhelm Mee.*

*I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls against thee O Lord) as the just caus of these Popular inundations, which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.* 15

*But thou that gathered'st the waters into one place, and madest the drie land to appear, and after did'st assuage the flood which drowned the World, by the word of thy Power; rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver Mee from the rudeness and strivings of the multitude.* 20

*Restore, wee beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Counsels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Christians; so shall wee prais thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.*

*What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.* 30



O Lord, give them, that are yet living, a timelie  
 sens and sorrow for their great sin, whom Thou knowest  
 guiltie of raising, or not suppressing those disorders: Let  
 shame here, and not suffering hereafter bee their pu-  
 5 nishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason; to our errors by  
 Truth; to our seditions by Laws duely executed; and in  
 our schisms by Charitie; that wee may bee, as Thy Je-  
 rusalem, a Citie at unitie in it self.

10 This grant, O My God, in Thy good time, for Iesus  
 Christ's sake, Amen.

5. Upon His Majestie's passing the Bill for the  
 Triennial Parliaments: And after settling  
 15 this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in  
 My purposes at first, to contribute, what, in  
 Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could  
 20 to the Happie success of this Parliament, (which  
 had in Mee no other design but the General good  
 of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the *Bill* for  
*Triennial* Parliaments: which, as gentle and  
 seasonable Physick, might, if well applied, pre-  
 25 vent anie distempers from getting anie head  
 prevailing; especially, if the remedie proved not  
 a disease beyond all remedie.

I conceived this Parliament would finde work  
 with convenient recesses for the first three years  
 30 but I did not imagin that som men would there  
 by have occasioned more work then they found

to do, by undoing so much as they found well don to their hands. *Such is som men's activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing.*

When that first Act seemed too scantie to 5  
satisfie som men's fears, and compass Publick Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that *Bill* of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted, in som men's sens, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of 10  
highest confidence I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as som men have now requited Mee. 15

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predecessors, yet cannot in reason admit of anie worf interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to 20  
trust them, as to denie My self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For *good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should bee worf by My bettering their's*: Nor indeed would it have been so 25  
in the event, if som men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament, I thought, would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving 30  
Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein

My interest lie's more then anie man's, since by those Laws, My Rights, as a KING, would be preserved no less then My Subject's; which is all I desired. *More then the Law give's Mee I would not have; and less the meanest Subject should not.*

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Mee of that settling Act: and manie would needs perswade Mee, I had caus'd so to do: But I could not easily, nor suddenly suspect such  
 10 ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the less I should have, and enioie with them. *I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people.*

15 Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Mee with increas of it, when Men shall have more leasure, and less prejudice: that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princelie  
 20 then friendlie contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now onely miserable in this, That som men's ambition will not give them leav to enioie what I intended for their good.

25 Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the Loial and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honor and Love to Mee, or My Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the Acts of My confidence and My  
 30 sufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly

chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to Men, that beeing professedly My Subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictness.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which som 5 men will needs load Mee withal, as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subject's miseries, while (as they confidently, but, God know's, falsely divulge) I, repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured 10 by force and open hostilitie to undo what by My Roial assent I had don. Sure it had argued a verie short sight of things, and extreme fatuitie of minde in Mee, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used 15 a Sword against them. God know's, though I had then a sens of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor 20 wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force 25 them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented anie indignities put upon Mee, or others, was I then in anie capacitie to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and War-like waie upon those, whom I knew so well fortified 30 in the love of the meaner sort of people, that  
I could



I could not have giv'n My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Mee, then, by so unprincelie Inconstancie, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but  
5 lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's, *I longed for nothing more then that My self and My Subjects might quietly enjoie the fruits of My manie condescendings.*

10 It had been a Court full of sin, as well as of hazard and dishonor for Mee to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabili-  
15 tie: If som men had not feared where no fear was, whose *securitie consisted in scaring others.*

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightness of My own heart, in passing that great  
20 Bill, which exceeded the verie thoughts of former times, That although I may seem less a Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I anie reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting som men go up to  
25 the Pinnacle of the Temple was a temptation to them to cast Mee down head-long; concluding, that, without a Miracle, Monarchie it self, together with Mee, could not but bee dashed in pieces by such a precipitious fall as they intended.

30 Whom God in Mercie forgive, and make them see at length, That *as manie Kingdoms as the Devil*

*shewed*

shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could bee at once enjoied by them) are not worth the gaining by waies of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a soul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms.

5

But God hath hitherto preserved Mee, and made Meeto see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable diseas.

I cannot saie properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorrie other men's eies should bee evil, becaus Mine were good.

To Thee, O My God, do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice see's through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts.

20

Thou gavest Mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from som of them.

Thy will bee don, though never so much to the crossing of our's, even when wee hope to do what might bee most conformable to thine and their's too, who pretended they aimed at nothing els.

Let thy grace teach Mee wisely to enjoie as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

30

I see, while I thought to allaiie other's fears, I have

have raised Mine own; and, by settling them, have unsettled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, and hated for My good will towards them.

5 O Lord, bee Thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admit's My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My making anie other, with that safetie and honor which I designed.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep Mee safe in the love and  
10 confidence of My People; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Mee amid'st the unjust hatred and jealousies of too manie, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuse My Acts of greatest Indulgence to them and assurance of them.

15 But no Favors from Mee can make others more guiltie, then My self may bee of mis-using those manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Mee.

I beseech Thee, give Mee and them such Repentance,  
20 as Thou wilt accept; and such Grace, as wee may not abuse.

Make Mee so far happie, as to make a right use of other's abuses, and by their failings of Mee, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon My offenses against  
25 Thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other men's sins deprived of Thy temporal blessings; yet I may bee happie to enioie the comfort of Thy Mercies, which often rais the greatest sufferers to bee the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majesty's retirement from Westminster.

With what unwillingness I with-drew from 5  
*Westminster* let them judg, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a storm: yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I staid at *White-hall*, till I was driv'n away by 10  
 shame more then fear to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leav either My self, or the Members of Parliament the libertie of our Reason and Conscience 15  
 to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreßion My case alone, though chiefly Mine. For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had 20  
 used each their own freedom: Whose agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or Reason conclusive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them My consent, whom they represent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound 25  
 to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God; with My just Rights, as a King; and the general good of My People. I see that, *as manie men, they are seldom of one minde; and, I may oft see, that, the major* 30  
*part of them are not in the right.*

I had



I had formerly declared, to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agree'd to so manie *Bills*, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all, if some men's Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Roial bountie was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

*Sure it cease's to bee Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. Hee deserv's to bee a slave without pitie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereigntie of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words so captivated.*

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King; becaus it belong's to Mee as a Man, and a Christian; owning the Dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obliging Mee to consent. *Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion Hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare, as a King, to like, or dislike.*

So far am I from thinking the Majestic of the Crown of England to bee bound by anie Coronation-

nation-Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie,  
 to consent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament*  
 shall require, as som men will needs infer; while,  
 denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as  
 King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive 5  
 Mee of the libertie of using My Reason with a  
 good Conscience, which themselvs, and all the  
 Commons of *England* enjoie proportionably to  
 their influence on the Publick; who would take it  
 verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My 10  
 self, as King, or the Houf of Peers with Mee,  
 should not so much enjoin, as desire them to pass.  
 I think My Oath fully discharged in that point  
 by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My  
 People, with the Houf of Peers, have chosen, and 15  
 My self have consented to. I shall never think  
 My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against  
 My Conscience, as I should consent to such new  
 Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor,  
 and Religion, bid's Mee denie. 20

Yet so tender I see som men are of their bee-  
 ing subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is,  
 the Law of another's will, to which themselvs  
 give no consent) that they care not with how  
 much dishonor and absurditie they make their 25  
 King the onely man that must bee subject to the  
 will of others, without having power left Him to  
 use His own Reason, either in Person, or by anie  
 Representation.

And if My dissentings, at anie time, were (as 30  
 som have suspected and uncharitably avowed)  
 out

- out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacie in Mee, which not true Judgment of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde; yet can no man think it other then the Badg and Method of Slaverie, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve
- 10 those that are destitute of the substance. Sure *that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavour's to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follow's what hee take's for Reason:* The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argue's those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason and convincing
- 20 Arguments, who call in the assistance of mee force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsell and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of My heart, protest, before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any
- 25 thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates, propounded to Mee by the two Houses; further then I thought, in good reason, I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever please Mee more, then

30 when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might, with good Conscience, consent to them.

yea, in manie things where not absolute and moral necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience in point of Honor was to bee considered, I chose rather to denie My self, then them: as preferring that which they thought necessarie for 5 My People's good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can bee content to recede much from My own Interests and Personal Rights, of which I conceiv My self to bee Master; but in what concern's Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fixt and resolute; nor shall anie 15 man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in stead of Reason and Publick 25 concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the interest of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wils and Passions.

*I know no resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.* 30



O My God, preserv Thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is Thy will that wee should maintain: who, though Thou dost justly require us to submit our understanding & wilt 5  
 5 *Thine, whose Wisdom and Goodness can neither err, nor misguid us; and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to Thy Sacred Mysteries and Commands, that wee should believ and obeie, rather then dispute them, yet do'st Thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable*  
 10 *service of Thee, as not to do anie thing for Thee against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoine us to trie all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgments*  
 15 *approve.*

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which Thou hast set Mee, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call Mee.

20 My People can witness how far I have been content, for their good, to denie My self in what Thou hast subjected to My disposal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of som men's immoderate demands ever betraie Mee to that degenerate and un- 25  
 manlie slavery, which should make Mee strengthen them by My consent in those things, which I think in My Conscience to bee against Thy Glorie, the Good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own Dutie in 30  
 Reason and Justice.

Make Mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities

dignities and injuries they press upon Mee, rather then  
commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of My People bee (as well they  
may) preserved in fair and equal waies without the  
slaverie of My soul.

Thou that hast invested Mee by Thy favors in  
the power of a Christian King, suffer Mee not to  
subject My Reason to other men's passions and de-  
signs, which to Mee seem unreasonable, unjust,  
and irreligious: So shall I serv Thee in the truth and  
uprightness of My heart, though I cannot satisfie  
these men.

Though I bee driv'n from among them, yet give  
Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before Thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Justice; for  
these, I know, will bring Mee at last to Peace and Hap-  
piness with Thee; though for these I have much trouble  
among men.

This I beg of Thee for My Saviour's sake.

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7. Upon the Queen's departure and absence out  
of England.

**A**Lthough I have much caus to bee troubled  
at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out  
of My Dominions; yet not Her absence so much,  
as the scandal of that necessitie, which drive's Her  
away, doth afflict Mee; That Shee should bee  
compelled by My own Subjects, and those pre-  
tending to bee Protestants, to withdraw for Her  
safetie: This beeing the first example of anie Pro-

testant-Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: for I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*, the brand of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant-Profession) may occasion a farther alienation of minde, and dis-  
 5 voice of affections in Her from that Religion  
 10 which is the onely thing wherein Wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I praie, Hee would in time take awaie; and not suffer these practices to bee anie obstruction to Her judgment; since it is the motion of those men, who, for the most  
 15 part, are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Manners; and so not to bee imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

20 I am sorrie My relation to so deserving a Ladie should bee anie occasion of Her danger and affliction: whose merits would have served Her for a protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudeness and barbaritie know's not so perfectly to  
 25 hate all virtues, as some mens subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. *The fault is, that Shee is My Wife.*

All Justice then as well as affection command's mee to studie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to bee tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so that Shee may  
 30 bee in safe Harbour.

This

This comfort I shall enjoie by Her safetie in the mid'st of My Personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved: In whose memorie and hopeful Posteritie I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should bee satiated with My blood.

I must leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loialtie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries don to Them by those, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

*But common Civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loialtie. Nor can it bee safe for anie Relation to a King to tarrie among them, who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretens of laying faster hold on their Religion.*

'Tis pitie so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer the rudeness of those, who must make up their want of justice with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathie with Mee, in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkeſt nights; and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindeness of the Generalitie and Vulgar; for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience by the most self-punishing



fin, the ingratitude of those, who, having eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of Our own Household are become  
 5 Our enemies. I praie God laie not their sin to their charge; who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie by their *Corban* of Religion; and can less indure to see, then to sin against their Benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

10 But even that policie of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: lest by the influence of Her example, eminent for  
 15 love as a Wife, and loialtie as a Subject, Shee should have converted to, or reteined in their love and Loialtie all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may bee blest'd with her companie,  
 20 the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoiment of Her virtues, while I enioie My self.

25 *Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present see's fit to scatter us, let Thy Mercie, in Thy due time, re-unite us on earth, if it bee Thy will; however bring us both at last to Thy beauenlie Kingdom.*

*Preserv us from the hands of our despiteful and  
 30 deadlie enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.*

*Though*

Though Wee differ in som things, as to Religion (which is My greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to imbrace everie truth of Thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and 5 Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what Thou would'st have us to know, in order to Thy Glorie, our publick Relations, and our sou's eternal Good, and make us careful to do what good Wee know. 10

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to bee known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what Wee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Mee, bee anie hinder- 15 rance to Her love of anie truth Thou would'st have Her to learn, nor anie hard'ning of Her in anie error Thou would'st have cleared to Her.

Let Mine, and other men's constancie bee an Anti- dote against the poison of their example. 20

Let the Truth of that Religion, I profess, bee represented to Her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humi- litie, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceableness, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it; Not in the odi- ous disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Noveltie, 25 Crueltie, and Disloyaltie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let Her see Thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that Shee may believ, love, and obeie them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures. 30

That in the glass of Thy Truth Shee may see Thee,

*in those Mercies which Thou hast offered to us, in Thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serv Thee in all those Holie duties, which most agree with His Holie doctrine, and most imitable example.*

- 5 *The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertainty of all humane Glorie, and greatness in Our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make Us both so much the more ambitious to bee invested in those durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in*  
 10 *Thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.*

8. *Upon his Majestie's repuls at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.*

- 15 **M**Y repuls at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyaltie, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt *Essaie* to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loss of My  
 20 *Kingdoms.*

God know's, it affected Mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee so much as their sin, which admitted no color or  
 25 excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I foresaw they could hardly contain themselvs within the compass of this one unworthie act, who had effronterie  
 30 enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after

to over-spread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknes.

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloial undertakers, *That bad actions must alwaies bee seconded with worf*; and rather not bee begun, 5 then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault; and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of som men 10 whose words were somtime smoothen oil, but now I saw they would prove verie Swords.

Against which, I, having as yet no defens, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie, with patience to bear what I could not 15 remedie: And in this, I thank God, I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do, or saie anie thing unbeseeming My self, or unfutable to that temper, which, in great- 20 est injuries, I think, best becom's a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, *I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King*; for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the Charitie of the 25 other is willing to bear; what the Hight of a King tempteth to revenge, the Humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excess injure's a man, more then his greatest enemies can; 30 for these give their malice a full impresson on  
our



our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observ how God not long after so pleaded and avenged My caus, in the eie of the  
5 world, that the most wilfully-blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with som remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreat-  
10 ned, uncursed by anie language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the Conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one incōstancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their  
15 disloialtie, to those men, from whom surely hee might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who emploied  
20 them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercie enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For *Apostacie unto Loialtie som men account the most unpardonable sin.*

25 Nor did a solitarie vengeance serv the turn; the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must bee involved in the punishment, as hee was infected with the sin  
30 of the Father against the Father of his Countrie: Root and Branch God cut's off in one daie.

These

These observations are obvious to everie phancie: God know's I was so far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, ( though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, beeing executed by them who first employed him against Mee ) that I so far pitied him as I thought hee at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope manie other men do in the same Cause.

For hee was never thought to bee of that superstitious sowness, which som men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darken's their judgment that they cannot see anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models of what they call Religion; who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was ( I think ) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which make's Mee more pitie him, is, that, after hee began to have som inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee should bee so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought

to paie to those that crave it, when wee have caus to believe they would not after abuse it ; since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for his Mercie but onely praiers and praises.

- 5 Poor Gentleman ! hee is now becom a notable monument of unprosperous Disloialtie, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that *the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign* carri's alwaies its own vengeance, as an un-  
 10 separable shadow with it ; and those oft prove the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

- After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill* ;  
 15 though 'tis certain that *no punishment so stain's a man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions* ; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie ; who,  
 20 not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

- But Thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a waie avenged Thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie  
 25 secret pleasure in it ; for as his death hath satisfied the injurie hee did to Mee, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make Thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against Thee.

- 30 Thou indeed, without anie desire or endeavour of Mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head,

head, and his violent dealing to com down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded My Caus, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands ; that men may know it was Thy work, and see that Thou, O Lord, hast don it.

I do not, I dare not saie, So let Mine enemies perish, O Lord ; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impenitencie, if it bee Thy blessed will.

Let not Thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie ; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended Mee in so high a nature ; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offenses to those trespasses against Thy Majesty, which, I hope, Thy Mercie hath forgiv'n Mee. 15

Lord laie not their sins ( who yet live ) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment : Let the lighting of this thunder-bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, bee a terror to all. 20

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have don amiss ; and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That, preventing Thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of Thine eternal vengeance. 25

And do Thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of Thy Servant in Mercie and Truth, meeting together ; let My Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other. 30

Hear My praier, O Lord, who hast taught us



to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for Thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of Thy love, even when wee were thine enemies; and hast sent Thy Son *Jesus Christ* to die for us, when wee were  
5 disposed to crucifie Him.

9. Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against  
the KING.

10 **I** Findethat I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Mee to leav *White-Hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My  
15 recess hath given them confidence that I maie bee conquered.

And so I easily maie as to anie outward strength, which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's  
20 grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee such a measure of Constancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

25 And must I bee opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; they confess their known weakness, as to Truth and Justice, who choof rather to contend by Armies, then by Ar-  
30 guments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive  
for

for those manie *Acts of Grace* I have lately passed ? and for those manie Indignities I have endured ? Is there no waie left to make Mee a *glorious King*, but by My sufferings ?

*It is a hard and disputable choise for a King that 5  
love's his People, and desire's their love, either to kill  
his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them.*

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years 10 living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied ? Notwithstanding som miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel 15 of som men driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the Publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie, I hope, of My self, either to injuri- 20 ousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reign have I shed, to satisfy My lust, anger, or covetousness ? What Widow's or Orphan's tears can witness against Mee, the just crie of which must now bee 25 avenged with My own blood ? For the hazards of war are equal; nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so manie hands are armed 30 against Mee with Swords.

God

God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alleged for this War against Mee; that so I might, by giving just satisfaction, either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which to manie men seem's rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Privilege.

But this is pretended, and this I must bee able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however som men are not willing to beleev Mee, lest they should condemn themselves.

15 When I first with-drew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolencie of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which no account in Reason can bee giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted) but onely to oppress both Mine and the

20 Two Houses freedom of Declaring and Voting according to everie man's Conscience; what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

25 Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of *Parliament*?

That som men with-drew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threat'ned to bee their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserv

preserv themselves. If anie others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not com to the Houses, or not declare their sens<sup>s</sup> with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to anie reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick *Odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could bee heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the waie open for all the Members quietly to com and declare their Consciences, I know nō man so dear to Mee, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing, upon their Summons; to whose Sentence according to Law I think everie Subject bound to stand.

Distempers, indeed, were risen to so great a height, for want of timelie repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the *greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons*; nor compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men, who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautiousness; further then this I did never allow anie man's refractoriness

E

against



against the Privileges and Orders of the Houses, to whom I wished nothing more, then Safetie, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, som men, and those not manie  
 5 despairing, in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by  
 free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activitie of  
 factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those  
 10 Members whom they saw to bee of contrarie  
 mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the busines of the Bishops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Privileges in the House of Peers, carried for them by  
 15 far the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

20 In like manner was the *Bill* against *Root and Branch* brought on by tumultuarie Clamors, and schismatical Terrors; which could never pass till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

25 To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbid's Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now bee urged with an Arme, and constrained either to hazzard My Own  
 30 and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defense; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience

of those men, whose zealous superstition think's  
or pretend's, they cannot do God and the Church  
a greater service, then utterly to destroye that Pri-  
mitive, Apostolical, and antiently-Universal Go-  
vernment of the Church by Bishops. 5

Which if other men's Judgments binde them  
to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the  
abolishing of, Mine much more; who, besides  
the grounds I have in My Judgment, have also a  
most strict and indispenfable Oath upon My 10  
Conscience, to preserv that Order, and the Rights  
of the Church; to which most Sacrilegious and  
abhorred Perjurie, most un-beseeming a Christi-  
an King, should I ever by giving My Consent  
bee betraied, I should account it infinitely grea- 15  
ter miserie, then anie hath, or can befall Mee; in-  
asmuch as *the least sin hath more evil in it then the  
greatest affliction*. Had I gratified their Anti-Epis-  
copal Faction at first, in this point, with My Con-  
sent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Govern- 20  
ment, and Revenues to the furie of their Cove-  
nousness, Ambition, and Revenge, I believ they  
would then have found no colorable necessitie of  
raising an Armie to fetch in and punish Delin-  
quents. 25

That I consented to the *Bill* of putting the Bi-  
shops out of the House of Peers, was don with a  
firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a  
present diminution in their Rights, and Honor,  
for My sake, and the Common-weal's; which I 30  
was confident they would readily yeeld unto,

rather then occasion ( by the least obstruction of  
 their part ) anie dangers to Mee, or to My King  
 dom. That I cannot add My Consent to the to  
 tal Extirpation of that Government ( which  
 5 have often offered to all fit regulations ) hath  
 much further Tie upon My Conscience, as *what*  
*I think Religious and Apostolical, and so very*  
*Sacred and Divine, is not to bee dispensed with*  
*or destroyed;* when what is onely of civil Fave  
 10 and Privilege of Honor granted to men of the  
 Order, may, with their consent, who are concern  
 ed in it, bee annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pre  
 tended to bee in point of Justice and Autoritie  
 15 Parliament; when, I call God to witness, I know  
 none of such consequence as was worth speaking  
 of to make a War; beeing onely such as Justice  
 Reason, and Religion had made in My Own and  
 other men's Consciences.

20 Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquency  
 was made; which were but consequences neces  
 sarily following upon Mine, or other's with  
 drawing from, or defense against violence; but  
 those could not bee the first occasion of raising  
 25 Armie against Mee. Wherein I was so far from  
 preventing them, as they have declared often, that  
 they might seem to have the advantage and  
 office of the defensive part, and load Mee with  
 the envie and injuries of first assaulting them  
 30 when as, God know's, I had not so much as a  
 hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the

mults been Honorably and effectually repressed  
 by exemplarie Justice, and the Libertie of the  
 Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either  
 House might with Honor and Freedom, becoming  
 such a Senate, have com'n and discharged their  
 Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by  
 My with-drawing; and had much more willing-  
 ly, and speedily returned then I retired; this bee-  
 ing My Necessitie driving, the other My Choise  
 desiring.

10

But som men knew I was like to bring the same  
 Judgment and constancie, which I carried with  
 Mee, which would never fit their designs: and so  
 while they invited Mee to com, and grievously  
 complained of My absence, yet they could not  
 but bee pleased with it: especially when they had  
 found out that plausible and popular pretext of  
 raising an Armie to fetch in *Delinquents*: when  
 all that while they never punished the greatest  
 and most intolerable *Delinquencie* of the Tu-  
 mults, and their Exciters, which drave My self,  
 and so manie of both Houses from their places,  
 by most barbarous indignities, which yet, in all  
 Reason and Honor, they were as loth to have de-  
 serted, as those others were willing they should,  
 that so they might have occasion to persecute  
 them with the injuries of an *Armie*, for not suf-  
 fering more tamely the injuries of the *Tumults*.

That this is the true state, and first drift and de-  
 sign in raising an Armie against Mee, is by the se-  
 quel so evident, that all other pretenses vanish.



For, when they declared, by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them there was nothing of consequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as anie original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of *Episcopal*, and the Establishment of *Presbyterian* Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded were either impertinent, as to anie ground of War, or easily granted by Mee, and onely to make up a number; or elf they were meerly consequential, and accessorie, after the war was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, who the nois and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equalitie and clearness of judgement might bee obstructed. But this was, and as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an armie, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was, God know's, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde the comfort, that, in the mid'st of all the unfortunate successes of this War on My side, I do not thinke My Innocencie anie whit prejudiced or darkned. Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Praier to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, see'st clearly thorough all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guide's Thy unerrable Judg<sup>m</sup>ent.

O My God, the proud are risen against Mee, and the 5 assemblies of violent men have sought after My soul, and have not set Thee before their eies.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and they hate Mee with a deadlie hatred without a caus<sup>e</sup>. 10

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then anie, and could gain least of anie by it. 15

Thou, O Lord, art My witness, how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessitie thereof, wherein I cannot well bee thought so prodigally thirstie of My Subject's blood, as to venture My own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie 20 War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroye My People.

O Lord; I need much of Thy Grace with patience to bear the manie afflictions thou hast suffered som men to bring upon Mee; but much more to bear the unjust 25 reproaches of those, who, not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or giv'n just Caus to rais it.

The Confidence of som men's fals Tongues is such, that they would almost make Mee suspect My 30 own Innocencie; Yea, I could bee content (at least by

My silence) to take upon Mee so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miserable War: since Thou, O Lord, knowest My Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoiment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counsels.

- 10 Save, O Lord, Thy Servant, as hitherto Thou hast: and in Thy due time scatter the People that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up Thy self, because of the rage of Mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more.

- 15 Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroy My Person, or force My Judgment, or to make Mee renege My Conscience and Thy Truth.

- 20 I am driv'n to cross David's choise: and desire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, though their Mercies be cruel; then into Thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against Thee, who art a consuming fire: Better they Destroy

- 25 Mee, then Thou should'st Damn Mee.

Be Thou ever the defens of My Soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

- If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or Thy Temporal Justice, I am content, if it be Thy will, that it be shed by Mine own Subject's hands.

But, O let the blood of Mee, though their King, yet a sinner, bee washed with the blood of My Innocent and Peace-making Redeemer; for in that Thy Justice will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal-plenary satisfaction, both for My sins, and the sins 5 of My People: whom I beseech Thee still own for Thine; and, when Thy wrath is appeased by My Death, O Remember Thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O My Father, for they know not what they do.

10

10. Upon their seizing the King's Magazines, Forts, Navie, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the first raising 15 of an Armie and beginning this Civil war, the eies, that onely pitie Mee, and the Loial hearts that durst onely praie for Mee at first, might witness, which yet appear not so manie on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against 20 Mee. My unpreparedness for a war may well dishearten those that would help Mee; while it argue's, truly, My unwillingness to fight, yet it testifies for Mee, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, 25 that I have none to defend My self, or to preserv what is Mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparation against 30 Mee, and surprizals of My strength. Such as are

not



not for Them, yet dare not bee for Mee; so over-  
aw'd is their Loialtie by the other's numbers  
and terrors. I believ My Innocencie, and unpre-  
paredness to assert My Rights and Honor make's  
5 Mee the more guiltie in their esteem; who would  
not so easily have declared a War against Mee, if  
I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefeft Arms left Mee, were  
those onely, which the Antient Christians were  
10 wont to use against their Persecutors, *Praiers* and  
*Tears*. These may serv a good man's turn, if not to  
conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and surprizing My  
Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*,  
15 is so far best for Mee, That it may drive Mee  
from putting anie trust in the arm of flesh, and  
wholly to cast My self into the protection of the  
living God, who can save by few, or none, as well  
as by manie.

20 Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee  
*Elias's* Caterers, and bring him food, may also  
make their surprizal of outward force and defens  
an opportunitie to shew Mee the special support  
of his power and protection.

25 I thank God I reckon not now the want of the  
*Militia* so much in reference to My own pro-  
tection as My People's.

Their manie and sore oppressions griev Mee;  
I am above My own; *What I want in the hands*  
30 *of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and*  
*Praier.*

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolv their *Riddle* of Making Mee a glorious King, by taking away My Kinglie power: Thus I shall becom a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, beeing unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship, as without anie realitie of power, so without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a Magnetick Charm, between the Power and Privileges of the two Houses, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

15

But I believ the surfeit of too much Power, which som men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; *Sovereign Power* 20 *in Subjects seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subjects.*

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcome Mine enemies, to gain the Peace of all, by depriving My self of a sole power to help, or hurt anie: yeelding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, 30 during My time.

So

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self. I desire not to bee safer then I wish them and My People. If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to bee able to defend My good Subjects from those  
 10 men's violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My  
 15 Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Mee, and employed against Mee and them, that neither can bee safe, if both bee not in such a waie, as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

20 Yet even this Concession of Mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to som men, which seem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies  
 25 of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoie it's just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which, at last, all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Mee to yeeld to such a total alienation of that power from them, which Civilitie  
 30 and

and Dutie (no less then Justice and Honor) should have forbid them to have asked of Mee.

For although I can bee content to Eclips My own beams to satisfie their fears, who think they must needs bee scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kinglie Power, where-with God and the Laws have invested Mee; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Posteritie and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never bee prejudiced or obstructed by anie Act of Mine; which indeed would not bee more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leav in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to bee ever subjected to those manie factious distractions, which must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eies to foresee; so they will finde, it hath more mouths too, which must bee satisfied; and at best hath rather a monstrositie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where *counsel may bee in manie, as the senses; but the Supreme Power can bee but in One, as the Head.*

Haply when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclips (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that bodie, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefeft light from Mee)



Mee) they will at length more esteem and welcome therestored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding  
 5 so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia* to com short of the discharge of that trust, to which I am sworn for My People's protection; I conceiv those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, ( if so it may seem ) who  
 10 compel Mee to take this new and strange waie of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil War and ad-  
 15 vantages of Power cannot bee effected but by som side yeelding; to which the greatest love of the Publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of God's protection ( arising from a good conscience ) doth more invite Mee, then can bee ex-  
 20 spected from other men's fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions, though never so successful, yet dare not adventure their Autors upon anie other waie of safetie, then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak de-  
 25 fenses against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of men's own Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to  
 30 take from Mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whose protection is sufficient

cient for Mee; and hee is able, by his beeing with Mee, abundantly to compensate to Mee, as hee did to *Job*, whatever honor, power, or libertie the *Caldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive Mee of.

5

Although they take from Mee all defens of Arms and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles; all flight by Sea, in My Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob Mee of the *Hearts of My Subjects*, the *greatest Treasure and best* 10 *Ammunition of a King*; yet cannot they deprive Mee of My own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor obstruct My waie to Heaven.

*Therefore, O My God, to Thee I flie for help; if Thou* 15 *wilt bee on My side, I shall have more with Mee then can bee against Mee.*

*There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of Thee: In the loss of all, bee Thou more then all to Mee: Make haste to succour Mee, Thou* 20 *that never failest them that put their trust in Thee.*

*Thou see'st I have no power to oppose them that com against Mee, who are encouraged to fight under the pretens of fighting for Mee: But My cies are to-* 25 *ward thee.*

*Thou needest no help; nor shall I, if I may have Thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.*

*If Thou delightest not in My safetie and prosperitie, behold, here I am, willing to bee reduced to what Thou wilt have Mee; whose Judgments oft begin with* 30 *Thine own Children.*

*I am*

I am content to bee nothing, that Thou mai' st bee all  
 Thou hast taught Mee, that no King can bee saved  
 by the multitude of an Host; but yet Thou can' st save  
 Mee by the multitude of Thy Mercies, who art the Lord  
 5 of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Mee, O Lord, who am sore distressed on everie  
 side; yet bee Thou on My side, and I shall not fear what  
 man can do unto Mee.

I will give Thy Justice the Glorie of My Distress.  
 10 O Let Thy Mercie have the Glorie of My deliverance  
 from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against Thee, and robbed  
 Thee of Thy Glorie, who am Thy Subject; and justify  
 mai' st Thou, by My own subjects, strip Mee of My  
 15 strength, and eclips My Glorie.

But shew Thy self, O My hope, and onely refuge! Let  
 not Mine enemies saie, There is no help for Him in His  
 God.

Hold up My goings in Thy paths, that My footsteps  
 20 slip not.

Keep Mee as the apple of Thine eye, hide Mee under  
 the shadow of Thy wings.

Shew Thy marvellous loving kindenes, O Thou that  
 savest by Thy right hand them that put their trust in  
 25 Thee, from those that rise up against them;

From the wicked that oppress Mee, from My deadly  
 enemies that compass Mee about.

Shew Mee the path of life. In Thy presence is ful-  
 ness of joie; at Thy right hand there are pleasures  
 30 for evermore.

ii. *Upon the Nineteen Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.*

**A**Lthough there bee manie things, they demand; yet, if these bee all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with My Conscience and Honor. If nothing elf will satisfie, I must chuse rather to bee as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make, or wish Mee.

Som things here propounded to Mee, have been offered by Mee; Others are easily granted; the rest, I think, ought not to bee obtruded upon Mee with the point of the Sword, nor urged with the injuries of a War. When I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience, 'tis strange, there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are manie things required of Mee; but I see nothing offer'd to Mee, by the waie of grateful exchange of Honor, or anie requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Mee, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more Princelie and Divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserv to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience, and not bee forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.



Som things, which they are pleased to propound, seem unreasonable to Mee; and while I have anie Masterie of My reason, how can I think I can consent to them? Who know the things are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much as I have already, make's som men confident they will denie nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath indeed, great influence upon Mee; but the love of Truth and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant som things they require, should not so much weaken My outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms.

Som things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policie are at som time to be denied, to som men, lest hee should seem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities: But to binde My self to a general and implicate consent, to whatever they shall desire, to propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie Free-man; nor fit to be required of anie man, much less of a King by his own Subjects: anie of whom hee may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as hee doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have cōsented not  
 onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his own  
 hair, but to put out his own eies, that the *Phili-*  
*stines* might with the more safetie mock and abuse  
 him; which they chose rather to do, then quite  
 to destroie him, when hee was becom so tame an  
 object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial,  
 seem's an arrogancie, least of all becoming those  
 who pretend to make their addressees in an humble  
 and loial waie of Petitioning; who by that suffi-  
 ciently confess their own inferioritie, which ob-  
 ligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted  
 with such an answer as the Will and Reason of  
 their Superior think's fit to give; who is acknow-  
 ledged to have a freedom and power of Reason  
 to Consent, or Dissent; els it were verie foolish  
 and absurd to ask, what another, having not li-  
 bertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this bee My Right belonging to Mee, 20  
 in Reason, as a Man; and in Honor, as a Sovereign  
 King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee  
 other then extreme injurie to confine My Reason  
 to a necessitie of granting all they have a minde  
 to ask? whose mindes may bee as differing from 25  
 Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims  
 may bee, and their qualities are; which last God  
 and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, ma-  
 king Mee their Sovereign, and them My Subjects:  
 whose Propositions may soon prove violent Op- 30  
 positions, if once they gain to bee necessarie im-  
 positions

fitions upon the Regal Autoritie. Since *no* *one* *seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.*

- 5 But they would have Mee trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of Mee to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not  
 10 confident of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie men's dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereigntie of Reason in My Soul, & the Majesty of My own Crown to anie of My Subjects.

- Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own  
 20 and other's fitting and voting in Parliament.

- Besides, all men, that know them, know this how young States-men the most part of the propounders are; so that, till experience of our seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can  
 25 Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from Mee, I should bee verie foolish indeed and unfaithful in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of Mine own, into their hands; whose driving is already  
 30 too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of Supremacie portends

more of *Phaëton* then of *Phæbus*: God divert the *Omen*, if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as My *Subjects*, not My *Superiors*; called to bee My *Counsellors*, not *Dictators*: Their *Summons* extend's to recommend their *Advice*, not to command My *Dutie*.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som *good Laws*, which had been antiquated by the cours of time, or overlai'd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or som *evil customs preter-legal*, and *abuses personal* had been to bee removed; or som *injuries* don by My self and others to the *Common-weal*, were to bee repaired; or som *equable offertures* where to bee tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, beeing considered by them, might fairly induce Mee to condescend, to what tended to My Subject's good, without anie great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde Mee (in the first place) to preserv: without which 'tis impossible to preserv My People according to My Place:

Or, at least, I looked for such *moderate desires of due Reformation* of what was indeed amiss in Church and State, as might still preserv the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without anie regard to the Laws in



force, the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Privileges of particular men; Nor yet anie thing offered in law 5 or in the room of what must bee destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the other Institution, and also supplie its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men not with soft and specious words, pretending ze 10 and special pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptness and necessitie of such alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe line 15 of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing of *ancient Laws dis-jointed*, which are to bee restored; of *ancient Right invaded*; of anie *Justice* to bee un-obstructed; of anie *Compensations* to bee made; of anie *partial Reformation* to bee granted; to all, or anie 20 which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or any other humane motives might induce mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded before them at anie time, in which is either great novelty, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly 25 merly look'd upon as *Factions in the State*, and *Schisms in the Church*, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely *Tolerations* of themselves, in their variety, 30 tie, noveltie, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation

tipation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This as to the main. Other Propositions are, for the most part, but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of som Propositions, there beeing nothing so monstrous, which som phancies are not prone to long for.

This cast's Mee into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the fortune to bee propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mis-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations, or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason, as yet produced to the contrarie, so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Anti-

quitie, to the Pietie of their reforming Progenitors, to the Prosperitie of former times in the Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

- 5 Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie (believing that all is Gold which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment to  
 10 bee drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humor; which hath in chief rise and abetment from those popular clamors and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite Activitie of those men  
 15 who studied, with all diligence and policie, to improve, to their *Innovating designs*, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions, having so little in My judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion  
 20 on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever bee backed and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person; yet the first shall never overcome Mee, further then  
 25 see cause: for *I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.*

Had the two Houses first sued out their Liverie, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults; (which can bee no  
 30 other then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factions

and

and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State) Did My Judgment tell Mee, that the Propositions sent to Mee were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with everie one of them :

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them; and humilitie to think, 10 that, as in som things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completeness and inerrabilitie as to exclude My self; since none of 15 them hath that Part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserv, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is necessarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring 20 forth anie one complete and Autoritative Act of Publick wisdom, which make's the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of som Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their 25 Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them favour verie strong of that old leaven of *Innovations masked under the name of Reformation*; which, in My two last famous Prede- 30 cessor's daies, heaved at, and somtimes threat'ned both  
both



both Prince and Parliaments; But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this Kingdom, however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it  
 5 likeliest so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice, and judgment.

10 Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of whatever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or  
 15 the Clergie.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed and many-handed Tumults.

20 No less doth Reason, Honor and Safetie both of Church and State command Me to chew such morsels, before I let them down. If the straitness of My Conscience will not give Me leav to swallow down such Camels of Sacrilege  
 25 and Injustice both to God and man, as others do, they have no more cause to quarrel with Me, then for this, that My throat is not so wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am resolved, That nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to  
 30 contradict, or Vanitie to shew My Negative power, shall have any bias upon My judgement,

to make Mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thing, which My Reason and Conscience command's Mee not : Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion perswade Mee, to bee for God's glorie, 5 the Church's good, My people's welfare, and My own peace.

I will studie to satisfie My Parliament and My People; but I will never, for fear, or flatterie, gratifie anie Faction, how potent soever; for this 10 were to nourish the diseas, and oppress the bodie.

Although manie men's Loialtie and Prudence are terrified from giving Mee that free and faithful counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder 15 Mee from craving of the counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline My heart stedfastly to follow it.

*O Thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is 20 fortified with omnipotencie, furnish Thy Servant, first, with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My understanding: then so confirm My will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of My Enemies may ever enforce Mee against 25 those rules, which Thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.*

*Thou never madest Mee a King, that I should bee less then a man; and not dare to saie, Yea, or Nay, as I see caus; which freedom is not denied to the meanest crea- 30 ture, that hath the use of Reason and libertie of speech.*

*Shall*

Shall that bee blameable in Mee, which is commendable veracitie and constancie in others?

Thou see'st, O Lord, with what partialitie and injustice they denie that freedom to Mee their KING, which thou hast giv'n to all Men; and which Theyselfs pertinaciously challenge to themselves, while they are so tender of the least breach of their privileges.

To Thee I make My supplication, who can'st guide  
 10 us by an unerring rule, thorough the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's proposals; which, I have som caus to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that, by My granting, or denying them, I might bee more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith  
 15 they lie in wait to afflict Mee.

O Lord, make Thy waie plain before Mee.

Let not My own sinful passions cloud or divert Thy sacred suggestions:

Let Thy glorie bee My end; Thy word My rule; and  
 20 then Thy will bee don.

I cannot pleas all, I care not to pleas som men; If I may bee happie to pleas Thee, I need not fear whom I displeas.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devises such as are wise in their own conceits, make Mee wise by Thy truth, for Thy honor, My Kingdom's general good, and My own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the world's opinion, or diminution of Mee.

30 The less wisdom they are willing to impute to Mee, the more they shall bee convinced of Thy wisdom directing

resting Mee, while I denie nothing fit to bee granted, out of crosness, or humor; nor grant anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie fear, or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconsiderate advancing anie men's designs, which are injurious to the Publick good, while I confirm them by My consent.

Nor let Mee bee anie occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best, by anie morose, or pervers dissentings. 10

Make Mee so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appear's to bee for the Publick Good; of whose affections to Mee I have yet but few evidences to assure Mee.

Thou can'st as well bless honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels. 15

Since wee must give an account of everie evil and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Lord make Mee careful of those solemn Declarations of My minde, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for wo, or weal. 20

The less others consider what they ask, make Mee the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My people's pressures are grievous, and peace would bee verie pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Mee to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expens or waste of My Conscience; whereof Thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master than My self. 25



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12. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.*

5 **T**He Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there  
10 been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown anie man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall finde the malicious Autor or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to som  
15 men's malice against Mee; that, when they had impudence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this bloodie opportunitie should bee offered them, with which I must bee aspersed:

Although there was nothing which could bee  
20 more abhorred to Mee, beeing so full of sin against God, disloialtie to My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Som men took it verie ill not to bee believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels  
25 did, was don with My privitie, at least, if not by My Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for som of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commission, but against My Command and Person too; yet all the while  
30 to pretend, they fight by My Autoritie, and for My Safetie.

I would

I would to God the Irish had nothing to allege for their imitation, against those, whose blame must needs bee the greater, by how much Protestant-Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. *Nor will 5 the goodness of men's intentions excuse the scandal and contagion of their Examples.*

But, whoever fail of their Dutie toward Mee, I must bear the blame; this *Honor My Enemies have alwaies don Mee, to think moderate injuries not 10 proportionate to Mee, nor competent trials either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.*

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; Charge- 15 ing Mee not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Politie, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter 20 detestation) I might bee represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous; Like som *Cyclopick monster*, whom nothing will serv to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare 25 My interest lie's as much as som men's doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor so cunningly as in laying the *Odium* of those sad events on other's, wherewith themselvs are most pleased, and 30 whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And,

And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wise men, that the *preposterous rigor* and *unreasonable severitie*, which som men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew  
 5 up, into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fuel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, *despair* beeing added to their former discontents, and the *fears of utter extirpation* to their wonted oppressions, it  
 10 was easie to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by som Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of libertie; both to exempt themselvs from their present re-  
 15 straints, and to prevent those after-rigors, where-with they saw themselvs apparently threat'ned by the *covetous zeal*, and *uncharitable furie* of som men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their  
 20 own.

God know's, as *I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion*; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make  
 25 such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered in *Ire-*  
 30 *land*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing elf, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed  
 and

and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions and Jealousies, which in ENGLAND som men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with *Ireland's* sad estate then My self; I offered to 5 go My self in Person upon that expedition; But som men were either afraid I should have anie one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to shoot at anie mark here less then My self; or that anie should have the glorie of My destruction, but 10 themselvs. Had My manie offers been accepted; I am confident, neither the *ruine* had been so great; nor the *calamitie* so long; nor the *remedie* so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began 15 that Rebellion, their's must needs bee, who either hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Domestic dissentions; or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremi- 20 ties, not onely to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Resolving to *destroie Root and Branch*, men, women, and children, without anie regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which 25 Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecilitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a 30 hand against them, nor distinguish between their

G

right



right hand and their left : Which *preposterous*, and  
 (I think) *un-evangelical Zeal* is too like that of the  
 rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower, in  
 their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven  
 5 upon whole Cities, for the repuls' or neglect of a  
 few ; or like that of *Jacob's sons*, which the Fa-  
 ther both blamed and cursed : chusing rather to  
 use all extremities which might drive men to de-  
 sperate obstinacie, then to applie moderate reme-  
 10 dies ; such as might punish som with exemplarie  
 Justice, yet dis-arm others with tenders of Mer-  
 cie upon their submission, and our protection of  
 them from the furie of those', who would soon  
 drown them, if they refused to swim down the  
 15 Popular stream with them.

But *som kinde of zeal count's all merciful moder-  
 ration, luke-warmness ; and had rather bee cruel, then  
 counted cold ; and is not seldom more greedie to kill the  
 Bear for his skin, then for anie harm hee hath don.*  
 20 The confiscation of men's Estates beeing more  
 beneficial, then the charitie of saving their Lives,  
 or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succours of the poor  
 Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred  
 25 and over-born with numbers of now-desperate  
 Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here, I  
 was earnestly entreated and generally advised, by  
 the chief of the Protestant-Partie there, to get  
 them som respite and breathing by a *Cessation*,  
 30 without which they saw no probabilitie (unless  
 by miracle) to preserv the remnant that had yet  
 escaped.

escaped : God know's with how much Commi-  
 seration and solicitous Caution I carried on that  
 business, by Persons of Honor and Integrity, that  
 so I might neither encourage the Rebels inso-  
 lence, nor discourage the Protestants Loialtie and  
 Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that  
 the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then  
 permit, I was then to suffer again in My Repu-  
 tation and Honor; becaus I suffered not the Rebels  
 utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the  
 Protestants there. 10

I thought, that, in all reason, the gaining of that  
 respite could not bee so much to the Rebel's ad-  
 vantages (which som have highly calumniated  
 against Mee) as it might have been for the Pro-  
 testant's future, as well as present safetie; if, during  
 the time of that Cessation, som men had had the  
 grace to have lai'd *Ireland's* sad condition more to  
 heart; and lai'd aside those violent motions which  
 were here carried on by those, that had better  
 skill to let blood, then to stanch it. 20

But in all the mis-constructions of My actions,  
 (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men  
 to what is fals and evil, then love or charitie to  
 what is true and good) as I have no Judg but  
 God above Mee, so I can have comfort to appeal  
 to his Omniscience, who doth not therefore denie  
 My Innocence, becaus hee is pleased so far to trie  
 My patience, as hee did his servant *Job's*. 30

I have enough to do to look to My own Con-  
 science,

science, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a King; I have scarce leasure to consider those *swarms of reproaches*, which issue out of som men's mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do  
 5 out of a fornace; Much less to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who, *conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believ anie man not to bee as bad as themselves.*

10 'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as My worst enemies can falsly saie. And, I hope, I shall still do better then they desire, or deserv I  
 15 should.

I believ it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil My other Kingdoms, are in great part guiltie, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timelie stopping those horrid effusions  
 20 of blood in Ireland.

Which ( whatever My enemies pleas to saie or think ) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins; no man beeing so much weak'ned by it, as My self: And,  
 25 I hope, though men's unsatiable Cruelties never will, yet the Mercie of God will at length saie to his Justice, *it is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: His merciful justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion,  
 30 but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O My

*O My God, let those infinite Mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should bee restored.*

*Thou see'st how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the color of Religion; as if wee could not bee Christians, unless wee crucifie one another.*

*Because wee have not more loved Thy Truth, and practised in Charitie; Thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.*

10

*O Lord, forgive wherein wee have sinned; and sanctifie what wee have suffered.*

*Let our Repentance bee our recoverie; as our great sins have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miseries, I and My Kingdoms have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glass of Thy judgments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe Afflictions.*

*O therefore, according to the multitude of Thy great Mercies, pardon our sins, and remove Thy Judgments which are verie manie and verie heavie.*

20

*Yet let our sins bee ever more grievous to us, then Thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to bee relieved; first give us the Peace of penitent Consciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.*

25

*In the sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sins; and, through this red sea of our own blood, bring us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.*

30

*As My publick Relations to all, make Mee share in all*



*My Subject's sufferings; so give Mee such a pious sense of them, as becom's a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.*

*Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Mee bee as a breath more to kindle My compassion; Give Mee grace to heape charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose Malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled or kindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted My three Kingdoms.*

10 *O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom Thou hast hitherto preserved:*

*And lead those in the waies of Thy saving Truth, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do Thee good service.*

*Let the hand of Thy Justice bee against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.*

*Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erraneous with the Malitious; Thou that had'st pitie on Nineveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness make's them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore justly cursed.*

*Preserv, if it bee Thy will, in the mid'st of the fur-nace of Thy severe Justice a Posteritie which may praise Thee for Thy Mercie;*

30 *And deal with Mee, not according to man's unjust reproaches: but according to the innocencie of My hands in Thy sight.*

If I have desired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endevoured the preventing and composing of these bloodie distractions; then let Thy hand bee against Mee, and My Father's hous. O Lord, 5 Thou see'st I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate Thy curs on Mee and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integrity, which Thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to My own merit, but Thy Mercies; spare us, 10 O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.

### 13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Coming.

15

THE Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common Ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bountie, with My Father of blessed memorie; but also special and late obligations of Favors; having gratified the active Spirits among 20 them so far, that I seemed, to manie, to prefer the desires of that Partie before My own interest and Honor. But, I see, Roial bountie embolden's some men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

25

My charitie and Act of Pacification forbid Mee to reflect on former passages, wherein I shall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconstancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the Publick good: I praie 30 God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Partie into *England* with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same  
5 measure offered from hence to themselvs.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the *Presbyterian Copie* they had set, by making this  
10 Church to write after them, though it were in *bloodie Characters*.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the Divine Justice, I leav to their Consciences to judg, who  
15 have already felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crossness of grain beeing objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which  
20 they crie up, as the onely just reformation and settling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have don in *England*, when so manie of the  
25 *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anye forreign State or Church to pre-  
30 scribe

scribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, *rather successfully then commendably*; not considering that *the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations*; *That may kill one, which doth but cure another.* 5

Nor do I know anie such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English Church*, which gentler applications, then those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: *Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformatiōs by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations* among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom *not Force, but Reason ought to convince.* 10

But their design now seemed rather to cut off 15 all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *English Clergie* must conform to the *Scot's* pattern before ever they could bee heard what they could saie for themselves, or against the other's 20 waie.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other men's Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points, which are 25 maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on men's Judgments and Consciences, 30 which are least urged with *secular violence*, which



which *weaken's Truth with prejudices*; and is unreasonable to bee used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn men's obstinacie to 5 deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so manie learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, beeing alwaies bred up and conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon  
 10 renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becaus that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force assist alike Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie; or destroie them; at least fleece them, by  
 15 depriving them of the benefit of their Focks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were proved to bee the onelie institution of Jesus Christ, for all Church's Government, yet I believ it would bee hard to prove, that Christ had given those *Scots*,  
 20 or anie other of My Subjects, Commission, by the Sword, to set it up in anie of My Kingdoms, without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pai'd to the chief Governors of States, 25 where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; but, that Hee, or They ever commanded to set up such a *paritie of Presbyters*, and in such a waie as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not verie disputable.

If *Presbyterie* in such a supremacie bee an institution of Christ, sure it differ's from all others; 30 and is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that

was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion run's in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianitie and Episcopacie; which was with Patient shedding of their own blood, not Violent 5 drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected. 10

Yet was there never anie thing upon the point, which those Scots had by Armie or Commissioners to move Mee with, by their manie Solemn obtestations and pious threat'nings, but onely this; to represent to Mee the wonderful necessitie of 15 setting up their Presbyterie in England to avoid the further miseries of a War; which som men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinder's that anie Sects, Schisms, or He- 20 resies, if they can get but number, strength and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterie seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when 25 wise and learned men think, that nothing bath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and still most Universal waie of the Church-government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Con- 30 stitutions of this English Church; which are not yet

yet repealed, nor are like to bee for Mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their Knapfacks.

But wee must leav the success of all to God,  
 5 who hath manie waies ( having first taken us off from the follie of our opinions and furie of our passions) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to God's Glorie, and his Church's  
 10 Good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much *I esteem the Church above the State; the Glorie of Christ above Mine Own; and the salvation of men's Souls above*  
 15 *the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.*

Nor may anie men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have phancied and fashioned to  
 20 their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other men's Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other *violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loial, shall never either shake or un-*  
 25 *settle My Religion;* nor anie man's elf, who know's what Religion mean's, and how far it is removed from all Faction; whose proper engine is *Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men,* much less of humble Christians and loial  
 30 Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of

of themselves, that they care not what cost they laie out upon their opinions; especially those that have som temptation of gain to recompens their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scot's* 5  
Armie's coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so manie obligations of Dutie and Gratitude to Mee, then I wondered, how those here could so much distrust God's assistance; who so much pretended *God's Cause* to the People, as 10  
if they had the certaintie of som divine Revelati-  
on; considering they were more then compe-  
tently furnished with My Subject's Arms and  
Ammunition; My Navie by Sea; My Forts,  
Castles, and Cities by Land. 15

But I finde that *men jealous of the Justifiableness*  
*of their doings and designs before God never think they*  
*have humane strength enough to carrie their work on,*  
seem it never so plausible to the People; *what can-*  
*not bee justified in Law or Religion had need bee jus-* 20  
*tified with Power.*

And yet such is the *inconstancie* that attend's  
all mindes engaged in violent motions, that whom  
som of them one while earnestly invite to com  
in to their assistance, others of them soon after are 25  
wearie of, and with nauseating cast them out:  
what one Partie thought to rivet to a settledness  
by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the  
other reject's and contemn's; at once, despising  
the *Kirk-Government* and *Discipline* of the *Scots*, 30  
and frustrating the success of so chargeable  
more



more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happines of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had  
 5 been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advise in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters beeing impartially settled, might bee more satisfactorie to all, and  
 10 more durable.

But much of God's Justice, and man's follie will at length bee discovered, thorough all the flimsy and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; *in vain do men hope to*  
 15 *build their pietie on the ruines of Loialtie.* Nor can those confederations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their *Allegiance*, under pretens of setting up a quicker trade for *Religion*.

But as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Mee; so I cannot think that the most are  
 20 gon so far from Mee in a Prodigalitie of their love and respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to  
 25 Mee, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that *their chieftest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown*, not in their serviceableness to any Partie of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor for their own advantages:  
 30 However, the less caus I have to trust to men, the more I shall applie My self to God.

*The Troubles of My Soul are enlarged; O Lord, bring thou Mee out of My distress.*

*Lord, direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policie.*

*Deliver Mee from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Dove's Innocencie.*

*Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honor.*

10

*Thou, O Lord, can'st turn the hearts, of those Parties in both Nations, as thou did'st the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loial Zeal, as they did with constancie and eagernes pursue Him.*

*Preserv the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Mee, and I shall not despair of My Subject's affections returning towards Mee.*

*Thou can'st soon caus the over-flowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.*

20

*O My God, I trust in thee; let Mee not bee ashamed; let not My Enemies triumph over Mee.*

*Let them bee ashamed who transgress without a caus; let them bee turned back that persecute My Soul.*

*Let integritie and uprightness preserv Mee; for I wait on thee, O Lord,*

25

*Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all it's Troubles.*

30

14. Upon

## 14. Upon the Covenant.

5 **T**He *Presbyterian Scotss* are not to bee hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a *Solemn League and Covenant*.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pre-  
 10 tensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie; This they make the *grand evil Spirit*, which (with som other *Imps* purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by so solemn a *charm* and  
 15 *exorcism* bee cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island; and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostle's times, till  
 20 this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it: *Presbyterie*, like a *young Heir*, think's the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to bee in the Bishop's Chair and Autoritie (though Lay-men go  
 25 awaie with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch *Presbyterie* in *England*; which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with manie passages  
 30 in that Covenant, som referring to My self with *verie dubious and dangerous limitations*; yet I chiefly

chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no less then swearing 5 for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessitie; but verie disputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men: where-to the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment and certaintie 10 in one's self, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as I think *Religion* require's; which *never refuse's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.* 15

The *enjoining of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessarie duties.* Nor can I see how 20 they will reconcile such an *Innovating Oath* and Covenant with that former Protestation, which was so lately taken, to maintein the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they account Discipline so great a part of Re- 25 ligion.

But *ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for, by such politick and seemingly-pious stratagems, they think to keep 30 the Populacie fast to their Parties under the*  
H terror



terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former Ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

- 5 Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My consent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to ab-
- 10 solv or slacken those *moral and eternal bonds of Dutie*, which lie upon all My Subject's Consciences both to God and Mee.

- Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Mee, by keeping their Covenant
- 15 in *honest and lawful waies*; since I have the charitie to think, that *the chief end of the Covenant*, in such men's intentions, *was, to preserv Religion in Puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace*: To other than such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have anie true
- 20 touches of Conscience endeavour to carrie on the best designs, (much less such as are, and will bee daily more apparently-factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful means, under that title of the Co-
- 25 venant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispensable both to God and My self.

- I am prone to believ and hope, That manie
- 30 who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That such *later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues* can never

never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which make's such Confederations by waie of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: where *formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more studied and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate* 10 *desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws;* which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to complie with the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of *Holie Combinations.* 15

Which cords and withs will hold men's Consciences no longer, then force attend's and twist's 20 them: for everie man soon grow's his own Pope, and easily absolv's himself of those Ties, which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtiltie and terror of a Partie cast's upon him, either *superfluous and vain,* 25 *when they were sufficiently tied before;* or *fraudulent and injurious,* if by such after-ligaments they finde the imposers really aiming to dissolv, or suspend their former, just, and necessarie obligation. 30

Indeed, such illegal waies seldom, or never, intend  
H 2 the

*the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties;* therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie *pretended*, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like *Manna* (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie man's palat and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit anie men's senses of it, though divers, or contrarie; with anie salvo's, cautions and reservations; so as they cross not the Chief Design which is laid against the Church and Mee.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming increas to their Partie; so little do men remember that *God is not mocked*.

In such latitudes of sens, I believ, manie that love Mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant; who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all pietie and loialtie: who first yeelded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for anie value of it, or devotion to it. Wherein, the latitude of som general Clauses may (perhaps) serv somewhat to reliev them; as, of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings and according to the Word of God*: for, these, indeed carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in

God's

God's Laws, as to the general, or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties.

I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters* would keep themselves with-<sup>5</sup> in those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best waie to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Au-  
toritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually bee car-<sup>10</sup> ried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended, I willingly forgive such men's taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of *Pietie, Law, and Loi-*  
*altie*, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, <sup>15</sup> or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that *Reformation of the Church*, which the Covenant pretend's, I cannot think it just or comly, that by the partial advise of a few *Divines*, <sup>20</sup> (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should bee cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the <sup>25</sup> Church of *England*, as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's <sup>30</sup> now factiously engaged.



No man can bee more forward then My self to  
 carrie on all due Reformatiōs, with mature  
 judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things  
 I shall, after impartial advise, bee, by God's word,  
 5 and right reason, convinced to bee amiss; *I have*  
*offered more then ever the fullest, free'st, and wisest*  
*Parliaments did desire.*

But the sequel of som men's actions make's it  
 evident, that the main *Reformation* intended, is the  
 10 abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the  
 robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues:  
 For, no men have been more injuriously used, as  
 to their legal Rights, then the Bishops and  
 Church-men. These, as the *fattest Deer*, must  
 15 bee destroyed; the other *Rascal-herd of Schism,*  
*Heresies, &c.* beeing lean, may enjoie the bene-  
 fit of a *Toleration*: Thus *Naboth's Vineyard* made  
 him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit  
 to die. Still I see, *while the breath of Religion fills*  
 20 *the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Faction*  
*men steer their cours in all seditious Commu-*  
*tions.*

I thank God, as no man laie more open to the  
*sacrilegious temptation* of usurping the Church's  
 25 Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from  
 the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert  
 onely to the Crown, with My Consent) so I have  
 alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in  
 My Soul, that I never found the least inclination  
 30 to such *sacrilegious Reformings*: yet no man  
 hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all  
 Church-

Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predecessors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive Mee or Mine to invade or *sell the Priest's Lands*; which both *Pharaoh's* divinitie; and *Joseph's* true pietie abhorred to do: *so unjust I think it, both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements*; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the *Straw*, and increas the *Task*; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as som have don, to the *Red Sea* of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteem's it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chiefeest Glorie to bee, *The Defendor of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just Frutitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apostacie.*

*I had rather live, as My Predecessor Henrie the Third som times did, on the Church's Alms, then violently take the bread out of Bishop's and Minister's mouths.*

The next work will bee *Seroboam's* Reformation; consecrating the meanest of the People to bee Priests in *Israel*, to serv those *golden Calvs* who have enriched themselvs with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and People, is well enough known: And so it will bee here, when,

from the tuition of *Kings and Queens*, which have been nursing *Fathers and Mothers* of this Church, it shall bee at their allowance, who have already discovered, what *hard Fathers and Step mothers* they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Church's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as praie God to prevent those  
 10 *sad consequences*, which will inevitably follow the povertie and povertie of *Ministers*, both in Church and State; since I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in  
 15 our own power; it beeing everie man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

*There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church*; as I would bee a *Restorer* of the one, so I would not bee an  
 20 *Oppressor* of the other, under the pretens of Publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would bee much worke; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee accessorie to either.

25

*To Thee, O Lord, do I address My praier, beseeching Thee to pardon the rashness of My Subject's Swearings, and to quicken their sens and observation of those just, moral, and indispensible bonds, which Thy Word,*  
 30 *and the Laws of this Kingdom have lai'd upon their Consciences, from which no pretensions of Pietie and*  
*Reformation*

Reformation are sufficient to absolue them, or to engage them to anie contrarie practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider that nothing violent and injurious can bee Religious. 5

Thou allowest no man's committing Sacrilege under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of Religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie. 10

Ever keep Thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posteritie of robbing Thee and Thy Church, of what Thy bountie hath giu'n us, and Thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion. 15

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Increased; yet neuer suffer Mee to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from Thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched. 20

I let not the debts and engagements of the Publick, which som men's follie and prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoverish Thy Church. 25

The State may soon recover, by Thy blessing of Peace upon us; the Church is neuer likelie, in times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal. 30

Continue



Continue to those that serv Thee and Thy Church all those encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to  
 5 Thy Glorie, and the relief of the poor; that Thy Priests may bee clothed with righteousness, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee giv'n to Swine, nor the Church's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the  
 10 Citie, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those Sacred morsels, which som men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor their's; let them bee as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab  
 15 gall in their mouths, rottenness to their Names, a morsel to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded  
 20 together against the Church and State; that the follie of such may bee manifest to all men, & proceed no further.

But so favor My righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of Thee the most High, I may never miscarry.

35 15. Upon the manie Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against Him.

30 IF I had not My own Innocencie, and God's Protection, it were hard for Mee to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice which

which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supplie the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Mee.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie 5  
com short of these designs: For, *I can more willingly lose My Crowns, then My Credit*; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but 10  
these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gon: *A good Name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.* 15

Those foul and fals aspersions were secret engines at first emploied against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their's too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down 20  
their Loialtie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, *the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls*; whose eies once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into 25  
the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to bee destroyed, that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My 30  
*Destroyers*; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King. I

I thank God, I never found but My pitie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate praiera for them, whom *devout* errors, more then their own malice, have betrayed to a most *religious Rebellion*.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Mee, not to end Mee; And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that, as Hee hath yet preserved Mee, so, Hee hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do Him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their *loial injuries*, then I am ambitious by all Princelie merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections, toward the generalitie of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence give's Mee; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with anie sinister thought of all their Allegiance, whom *pious frauds* have seduced.

The worst som men's ambition can do shall never perswade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions; who possibly may

may bee *Erroneous*, but not *Heretical* in point of Loialtie.

*The sens of the Injuries don unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those don to My self; our welfares beeing inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then 5 My self, that they are animated by som Seducers to injure at once both themselves and Mee.*

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies that I bee afflicted; but it must bee don by such instruments, that *My afflictions griev Mee 10 not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.*

If they had been My open and forrein Enemies, I could have born it; but they must bee 15 My own Subjects, who are, *next to My Children*, dear to Mee: and for the restoring of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*, if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrarie 20 windes, the storm of their miseries would be rather increased then allaiied.

*I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Domi- 25 nion, which is but My Right, as of their happiness, if it could expiate or countervail such a waile of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.*

*Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dis- 30 honorably to betraie My own just Rights and Sovereignie;*



*Sovereigntie*; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My enemies; between whose malice, and other men's mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie *Ague* 5 and the *Plague*; or the *Itch of Novelty* and the *Le-prosie of Disloialtie*.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious persons good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's phancie; and 10 what their reproaches want of truth they may make up with number and shew.

My patience, I thank God, will better serv Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leasure to answer the manie fals Asspersions which 15 som men have cast upon Mee.

Did I not more consider My Subject's Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have giv'n the malice of som men that pleasure, as to see Mee take notice of, or remember what 20 they saie, or object.

I would leav the Autors to bee punished by their own evil manners and feared Consciences, which will, I believ, in a shorter time then they bee aware of, both confute and revenge all those 25 black and fals Scandals which they have cast on Mee; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie (I need not saie Loialtie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose 30 credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long bee quite blasted by the breath of that same

same *fornace of Popular obloquie* and detraction, which they have studied to *beat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie*, and wherein they have sought to cast & consume My Name and Honor.

First, nothing gave Mee more caus to suspect 5 and search My own Innocencie, then when I observed so manie forward to engage against Mee, who had made great professions of singular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflecti- on upon Mee and My Caus, as if it had been im- 10 possible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or speak well of Mee, and not to blaspheme him; so manie were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to bee at once Loial to Mee, and truly Religious toward 15 God.

Not but that I had, I thank God, manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein som men glorie so much) 20 who were so well satisfied in the caus of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Mee, then forsake Mee.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions, as were used against Mee, should bee too manie 25 well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Mee; Especially, beeing urged by such *Popular Preachers*, as think it *no sin to lie for God, and what they pleas to call God's Caus*, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and 30 crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that

that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these men's judgments must be made up by their clamors and activitie.

It was *a great part of som men's Religion to scandalize Mee and Mine*; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more trial of his grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as *too great a fixedness in that Religion*, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquitie, will not give My Conscience leav to approve, or consent to those manie *dangerous and divided Innovations*, which the bold Ignorance of som men would needs obtrude upon Mee and My People.

Contrarie to those well tried foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning and clearer Zeal have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which manie former Parliaments, in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by God's help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My *using the assistance of som Papists*, which

which were My Subjects, anie waie fight against My Religion, as som men would needs interpret it; especially those who least of all men cared whom they employed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail. 5

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would bee esteemed, should not conceiv, That *differences of persuasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of dutie, Allegiance, and subjection.* The first they ow as men and Christi- 10  
ans to God; the second they ow to Mee, in common, as their KING. *Different professions in point of Religion cannot* (anie more then in civil Trades) *take away the communitie of Relations either to Parents, or to Princes:* And where is there such 15  
an *oglio* or medlie of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service who finde most fault with Mee, without anie scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions? 20

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would bee counted Protestants, to enforce Mee, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My self. 25

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in such exigents, to use the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sens of their Allegiance, then manie Protestant-Professors; who seemed to have learned, and to 30  
practice the worst Principles of the worst Papists.



Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unreasonable scruple in Mee, and verie pleasing no doubt to My Enemies, to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects,  
 5 when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less then their praiers as Christians.

The nois of My *Evil Counsellors* was another useful devise for those, who were impatient anie  
 10 men's counsels, but their own, should bee followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Mee better counsel, that they would not give Mee leav to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, as a King; making their counsels more  
 15 like a *Drench* that must bee powred down, then a *Draught* which might bee fairly and leasurly drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors: They  
 20 might bee subject to som miscarriages, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances wherewith som men have now even wild' red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

25 The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Mee, or My self anie inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought  
 30 both Church and State, in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions and Hell of miseries

miseries, as som have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the mid'st of their manie great advantages, redeem eithe Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either don or advised amiss; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorrie to see Mee prone even to injure My self out of a zeal to reliev My subjects. 10

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge, upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State of the benefit of all My, either *Retractions*, or *Concessions*; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now 15 so *zealous persecutors*) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to bee relieved, 20 then bee revenged, so as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attend's humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice uled to with-draw My People's affections from Mee, to their designs, was, 25 The nois and ostentation of *Libertie*, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the Popular sens; *which is to do what everie man liketh best.*

If the *Divineest libertie* bee to will what men 30 should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason,

*Laws and Religion*, I envie not My Subjects that libertie, which is all I desire to enioie My self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing their's: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Mee so prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to *Civil Immunities*, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the *Laws* allow; *whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.*

15 Nor is it just anie man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth it's rule and direction; losing justly his Safetie while hee seek's an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that *those* 20 *are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.*

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should bee really tender of 25 their fellow-subject's liberties, who have the hardness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to complete their 30 mirth and triumph but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tendernefs (attended

tended with humilitie and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activitie, which seek's to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schism ) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on 5 God's Sovereigntie, who is the onely King of men's consciences; and yet hee hath laid such restraints upon men, as command them to bee *subject for Conscience sake*, giving no men libertie to break the Law established, further then with 10 meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the Publick Peace.

The truth is, som men's *thirst after Novelties*, other's *despair to reliev the necessities of their For-* 15 *tunes*, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, ( distrusting God's providence, as well as their own merits ) were the secret, but principal impulsives to these Popular Commotions; by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend 20 much of those plentiful estates they got, and enjoyed in peaceable times, under My Government; which yet must now bee blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, 25 which may most diminish the Majestie of a King, & increas the ungrateful insolencies of My people.

For *Mine Honor*; I am well assured, that as Mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of anie calumnies they object; so My Reputation shall, 30 like the Sun ( after Owls and Bats have



had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as those Feral birds shall bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For *never were anie*  
*5 Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffer'd to bee tried in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.*

And who know's but the just and merciful God will do Mee good, for som men's hard, fals, and  
*10 evil speeches against Mee; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believ, or know.*

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets ( which,  
*15 like fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames ) as those men do, who, pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating the Majestie of their King*  
*20 against anie of those, who, contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, speak evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honored with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should  
*25 not Honor their King.*

They will easily contemn such *shadows of God*, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie; yet hath bee  
*30 graven such Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without*

*sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils  
bee able to hide the shining of My face, while  
God give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly  
to convers with him, from whom alone are all  
the irradiations of true glorie and majestie.* 5

*Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonor,  
My Adversaries are all before thee.*

*My Soul is among lions, among them that are set  
on fire, even the Sons of men; whose teeth are spears 10  
and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.*

*Mine enemies reproach Mee all the daie long; and  
those that are mad against Mee are sworn together.*

*O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My  
glorie into shame? how long shall they love vanitie, 15  
and seek after lies?*

*Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on  
everie side. Hold not Thy peace, lest My enemies pre-  
vail against Mee, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.*

*Thou, O Lord, shalt destroye them that speak lies: 20  
the Lord will abhor both blood-thirstie, and deceitful  
men.*

*Make My righteousness to appear as the light; and  
Mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon daie.*

*Suffer not My silence to betraie Mine innocence; nor 25  
My displeasure My patience; That, after My Savi-  
our's example, beeing reviled, I may not revile again;  
and, beeing cursed by them, I may bless them.*

*Thou that would'st not suffer Shimei's tongue to go  
unpunished, when by Thy judgments on David hee 30  
might seem to justifie his disdainful reproaches; give*

Mee grace to intercede with Thy Mercie for these My enemies; that the reward of fals and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.

5 Let My praier and patience bee as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let Mee bee happie to refute, and put to silence  
10 their evil-speaking by wel-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My praier for their repentance, and Thy pardon.

Teach Mee David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to Thy Mercie through man's  
15 malice, and see Thy Justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as My humble praier to Thee, so Thy renewed blessing toward Mee.

20 Though they curse, do Thou bless, and I shall bee blessed, and made a blessing to My people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save Mee from the  
25 reproach of them that would swallow Mee up.

Hide Mee, in the secret of Thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep Mee from the strife of tongues.

16. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-  
Praier-Book.

IT is no news to have all *Innovations* ushered in 5  
with the name of *Reformation* in Church and  
State, by those, who, seeking to gain reputation  
with the Vulgar for their extraordinarie parts  
and pietie, must needs undo whatever was for-  
merly settled never so well and wisely. 10

So hardly can the pride of those that studie No-  
velties allow former times anie share or degree of wis-  
dom or godlines.

And becaus matter of *Praier and Devotion* to  
God justly bear's a great part in Religion, (beeing 15  
the Soul's more immediate convers with the Divine  
Majestie) nothing could bee more plausible to the  
People then to tell them, They served God amiss  
in that point.

Hence our *Publick Liturgie*, or Forms of con- 20  
stant Praiers must bee *not amended* (in what up-  
on free and publick advise might seem to sober  
men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which  
I should easily consent) but wholly *cashiered and*  
*abolished*; and, after manie Popular contempts 25  
offered to the Book, and those that used it  
according to their Consciences and the Laws  
in force, it must bee crucified by an Ordi-  
nance, the better to pleas either those men, who  
gloried in their *extemporarie vein and fluencie*; 30  
or others, who conscious to their own *formalitie*  
in



in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

5 As for the *matter* contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for  
10 Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the *Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of England; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox.*

15 For the *manner* of using *Set and Prescribed Forms*, there is no doubt but that wholsom words, beeing known and fitted to men's understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them  
20 judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see anie reason why Christians should bee wearie of a *well-composed Liturgie* (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the *Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and*  
25 *usefulness.*

I could never see anie Reason, why anie Christian should abhorre, or bee forbidden to use the same Forms of praier, since hee praie's to the *same God*, believ's in the *same Saviour*, professeth  
30 the *same Truths*, read's the *same Scriptures*, hath the *same duties* upon him, and feel's the *same dailie*  
wants

wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know *what wee praie*, as *to whom wee praie*; and in what words, as to what *sens*; when wee desire the *same things*, 5 what hinder's wee may not use the *same words*? our appetite and digestion too may bee good when wee use, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread*.

Som men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and 10 gifts, that they not onely dis-use (as too manie) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; whose great guilt is, that it is the *warrant and original pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church*. 15

I ever thought that the *proud ostentation* of men's abilities for invention, and the *vain affectation* of varietie for expressions, in Publick Praier, oranie Sacred Administrations, merit's a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness 20 and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties less subject to formal and superficial tempers, as to their hearts, then in the use of constant Forms, where *not the words, but men's hearts are too blame*. 25

I make no doubt but a man may bee verie formal in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently-devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, then of constancie: Nor are constant Forms of Praiers more likelie 30 to flat and hinder the *Spirit of Praier* and Devotion,

tion, then un-premeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

- Though I am not against a *grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in*  
 5 *Publick*, the better to fit and excite their own, and the People's affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessitie why private and single abilities should quite juttle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts  
 10 of manie learned and godlie men; such as the Composers of the Service-book were; who may, in all reason, bee thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose, with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such  
 15 Forms of Praiers, as may best fit the Church's common wants, inform the Hearer's understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consist's the *verie life and soul of Praier*, and that so much pretended  
 20 Spirit of Praier) then anie private man by his *solitarie abilities* can bee presumed to have; which, what they are manie times (even there, where they make a great nois and shew) the *affectations, emptiness, impertinencie, rudeness, confusions, flatness,*  
 25 *levitie, obscuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the senseless, and oft-times blasphemous expressions;* all these, burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glorie in that *Pharisaick waie*.  
 30 Wherein men must bee strangely-impudent, and flatterers of themselvs, not to have an infi-

nire shame of what they so do and saie, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and, indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it bee expected, but that, *in duties of* 5  
*frequent performance*, as *Sacramental Administra-*  
*tions*, and the like, which are still the same, Mini-  
 sters must either com to use their *own Forms* con-  
 stantly, which are not like to bee so sound, or  
 comprehensive of the nature of the dutie, as Forms 10  
 of Publick composure; or els they must everie  
 time *affect new expressions* when the subject is the  
 same; which can hardly bee presumed in anie  
 man's greatest sufficiencies not to want (manie  
 times) much of that *completeness, order, and gra-* 15  
*vitie*, becoming those duties; which by this  
 means are exposed at everie celebration to everie  
 Minister's private infirmities, indispositions, er-  
 rors, disorders, and defects, both for judgment,  
 and expression. 20

A serious sens of which inconvenience, in the  
 Church, unavoidably following everie man's  
 severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first oc-  
 cisioned the wisdom and pietie of the Antient  
 Churches to remedie those mischiefs by the 25  
 use of *constant Liturgies of Publick composure*.

The want of which I believ this Church will  
 sufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of  
 manie men's *un-govern'd ignorance and confident*  
*defects* shall bee discovered in more errors, 30  
 schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions  
 in



in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those Innovations, (*that men may not seem to have nothing to do*) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbid, at least, to be so obtruded, as wholly to juggle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used, and maintained the Service book; or, refusing to use it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the libertie of their Consciences in not using it.

15 That these men (I saie) should so suddenly change the *Liturgie* into a *Directorie*, as if the Spirit needed help for *invention*, though not for *expressions*; or as if matter prescribed did not so much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were  
20 clothed in, and confined to fit words (So slight and easie is that Legerdemane which will serve to delude the vulgar:) That further, they should use such severitie as not to suffer, without penaltie, anie to use the Common-Praier-Book publickly,  
25 (although their Consciences binde them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Laws) —————

Thus I see, *no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience*

of *lawful Constitutions*; and whose *licentious humors* most pretended *Conscientious liberties*; which freedom, with much regret, they now allow to Mee, and My Chaplains, (when they may have leav to serv Mee,) whose abilities, even in their 5 extemporarie waie, com not short of the other's, but their modestie and learning far exceed's the most of them.

But this matter is of so Popular a nature, as som men knew it would not bear learned and sober 10 debates, lest, beeing convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driv'n either to sin more against their knowledg by taking away the Liturgie; or to displeas 15 som faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believ they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their number and estates, but for their weightie and judicious pietie, then those are, whose *weakness* or *giddiness* 20 they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults som men found with the Common-Praier-Book, I believ, was this, That it taught them to praie so oft for Mee; to which Petitions they had not Loialtie enough to saie 25 *Amen*; nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even *Cursings of Mee* in their own forms, in stead of praying for Mee.

I wish their Repentance may bee their onely punishment; that, seeing the mischiefs which the 30 disuse of Publick Liturgies hath alreadie produced

ced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the antient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

5

*And thou, O Lord, who art the same God, blessed forever; whose Mercies are full of varietie, and yet of constancie; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sens of our old and dailie wants; nor despisest renewed affections*

10 *joined to constant expressions.*

*Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-advised Devotions.*

*Let the matters of our praiers bee agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same; and the fervencie of*  
15 *our spirits to the motion of thy Holie Spirit in us.*

*And then wee doubt not, but thy spiritual perfection are such, as thou art neither to bee pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our petitions in them both.*

20 *Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pietie and prudence of thy Church, that both may bee used, neither despised.*

*Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.*

*And since the advantage of Error consist's in Novelty and varietie, as Truth's in Unitie and Constancie;*  
30 *Suffer not thy Church to bee pestered with Errors, and deformed*

deformed with undecencies in Thy Service, under the  
 pretens of varietie and noveltie ; Nor to bee deprived  
 of truth, unitie, and order, under this fallacie, That  
 Constancie is the Cause of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own  
 hearts, and then wee know that praying to Thee, or  
 praising of Thee (with David and other holie men) in  
 the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us,  
 and there will bee less to amend without us. 10

Evermore defend and deliver Thy Church from the  
 effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

# 17. Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government. 15

TOUCHING the Government of the Church by Bi-  
 shops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I  
 am earnest and resolute to maintein it, not so  
 much out of Pietie, as Policie and Reason of  
 State. 20

Wherein so far indeed Reason of State doth in-  
 duce mee to approve that Government above  
 any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to pre-  
 serve the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an in-  
 fluence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance  
 on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies  
 of Minister's tongues; who with the Keies of  
 Heaven have so far the Keies of the People's  
 hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to  
 let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyaltie. 30



So that, I beeing, as King, entrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken, by anie change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The *moving Bishops out of the House of Peers* (of which I have \* elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off anie suspicion, that I incline  
 10 to them for anie use to bee made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought anie Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience. \* Pag. 51. li. 24. ac.

I must now in Charitie bee thought desirous to  
 15 preserv that Government in its right constitution, *as a matter of Religion*, wherein both My judgment is fully satisfied, *that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches*; till, of late years, the  
 20 multuariness of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some men's wits to invent new models, and propose them under the specious titles of *Christ's Government*,  
 25 *Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, the better to serv their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give Mee leav, having none of their temptations to invite Mee to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their  
 30 Estates) not to believ their pretended grounds to anie new waies; contrarie to the full,  
 and

and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficient-  
ly convincing unbiassed men, that as the Primi-  
tive Churches were undoubtedly governed by  
the Apostles and their immediate Successors the  
first and best Bishops, so *it cannot in reason or cha- 5*  
*ritie bee supposed, that all Churches in the world should*  
*either bee ignorant of the Rule by them prescribed, or*  
*so soon deviate from their divine and holie pattern :*  
That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one  
Example can bee produced of anie settled 10  
Church, wherein were manie Ministers and Con-  
gregations, which had not som Bishop above  
them, under whose jurisdiction and government  
they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agree- 15  
ing with so large and evident Scripture-directions  
and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to  
*Timothie* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Go-  
vernment, not in the *Persons* onely of *Timothie* and  
*Titus*, but in the *succession*; ( the *want of Govern- 20*  
*ment* beeing that, which the Church can no more  
dispens with, in point of wel-beeing, then the  
want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of  
beeing. ) I wonder how men came to look with  
so envious an eie upon Bishop's power and auto- 25  
ritie, as to oversee both the *Ecclesiastical use* of  
them, and *Apostolical constitution*; which to Mee  
seem's no less evidently set forth, as to the main  
scope and design of those Epistles, for the set-  
tling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Autoritie 30  
in them as *President-Bishops* above others, in

point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical discipline, then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of *Presbyter-Bishops*, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and communitive of the name were then, and may now not improperly be call'd *Bishops*, as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinative power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of *Apostles*, as a name in the Church's style appropriated from its common notion (of a *Messenger*, or one sent) to that special dignitie which had extraordinarie call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ; they contented themselves with the ordinative titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until *Use* (the great Arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish, by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinative and constant power of governing the Churches (the honor of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined, all Christian Churches submitting to that special autoritie) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without

anie suspicion or reproach of arrogancie, to those, who were by *Apostolical Propagation* rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without 5 all doubt, had manie such holie Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothie* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles ( the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine Right ) then 10 are the characters of these *perilous times*, and those men that make them such; who, *not enduring sound doctrine* and clear testimonies of all Churches practice, are most *pervers* Disputers, and *proud Usurpers* against true Episcopacie: who, if they bee not *Traitors* and *Boasters*, yet they seem to bee verie *covetous*, *headie*, *high-minded*, *inordinate* and *fierce*, lovers of *themselves*, having much of the form, little of the power of *Godliness*. 20

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlaie and smother the pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most 25 convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a *Divine*, then a *Prince*; that Posteritie may see ( if ever these Papers bee publick ) that I had fair grounds both from 30 Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiastical Examples, whereon



whereon My judgment was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it anie Policie of State, or obstinacie of will, or partialitie of affection; either to the 5 men, or their Function, which fixed mee; who cannot in point of worldlie respects bee so considerable to mee, as to recompens the injuries and losses I and My dearest relations, with My Kingdoms, have susteined and hazarded, chiefly at first 10 upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture is the best Rule, and the Church's Universal practice the best Commentarie, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee 15 thought that an orderlie Subordination among Presbyters or Ministers, should bee anie more against Christianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments, where Paritie breed's Confusion and Faction.

20 I can no more believ, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or humbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likelie that God, who appointed several Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government 25 of His Church amongst the Jewish Priests, should abhor, or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the Principles of Schism and Division, as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical 30 wisdom, which was Divine, after that Christians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters

Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might best preserv Order and Union with Autoritie.

So that I conceiv *it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the Wisdom and Pietie of the Apostles that first settled Bishops in the Church*; which Autoritie they constantly used and enjoied in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidencie and Autoritie in one man by the joint-Counsel and consent of manie Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to anie one man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becom's no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will bee a means to take away that Burden and *Odium* of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one man's shoulders; as, indeed, I think it formerly did on the Bishop's here.

Nor can I see what can bee more agreeable both to Reason and Religion then such a frame of Government which is *Paternal*, not *Magisterial*; and wherein not onely the necessitie of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the difference of som Minister's gifts, and aptitude for Government above others, doth invite to emploie them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Episcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit anie oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self  
 5 in what the chief Patrons for other waies can saie against this, or for their's: and, I finde, as they have far less of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason, so of examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories they are wholly de-  
 10 stitute; wherein *the whole stream run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for anie others.*

As for those obtruded examples of som late Reformed Churches, (for manie retain Bishops still)  
 15 whom necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their incomformitie to all Antiquitie, I could never see anie reason why Churches, orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should bee forced to conform to  
 20 those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this daie, who, Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are manie more then Presbyterians or Independents  
 25 can pretend to bee; all whom the Churches, in My three Kingdoms, lately governed by Bishops, would equalize, I think, if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as manie do in som points)  
 30 there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handful of  
 som

some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall never persuade, that, to complete their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as *Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical*; So far, that never Schismatick, nor Hereticks, (except those Aërians) have strayed from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancie is a great Prejudice against their Noveltie; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Consciences; So that their facilitie and Levitie is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not onely quite cried down the government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops and many other Church-men of all their due Autoritie and Revenues,



venues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from anie Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalencie of parties over some men's judgments; of whose so sudden and so total change little reason can bee giv'n, besides the *Scot's Armie* coming into *England*.

But the follie of these men will at last punish itself, and *the Desertors of Episcopacie* will appear the  
 10 *greatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest* for Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopacie. All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the fa-  
 15 vor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, and by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcass they are,  
 20 when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacie, not to have extirpated, if I can hinder it.  
 25 *Discretion without passion might easily reform* whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners hath brought upon it: It beeing a *gross Vulgar Error* to impute, or revenge upon the *Function*, the faults of Times,  
 30 *Persons*; which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men abhor.

For those *secular additaments and ornaments of*  
*Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Estate*, which My  
 Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Coun-  
 tries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men,  
 I look upon them, but as just rewards of their  
 learning and pietie, who are fit to bee in anie de-  
 gree of Church-Government; also enablements  
 to works of Charitie and Hospitalitie; meet  
 strengthenings of their Autoritie in point of re-  
 spect and observance; which in peaceful times  
 is hardly paid to anie Governors by the measure  
 of their Virtues, so much as by that of their  
 Estates: Povertie and meanness exposing them  
 and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious  
 mindes and manners, which persecuting Times  
 much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most  
 worthie of those encouragements, and best able to  
 use them: if at anie time My judgment of men  
 failed, My good intention made My error ve-  
 nial: and som Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose  
 learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of anie  
 worth or forehead can denie: But, of all men, I  
 would have Church-men, especially the Gover-  
 nors, to bee redeemed from that vulgar neglect;  
 which (besides an innate principle of vitious op-  
 position, which is in all men against those that  
 seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily  
 follow both the *Presbyterian paritie*, which make's  
 all Ministers equal; and the *Independent inferioritie*,  
 which set's their Pastors below the People.

This

This for My judgment touching Episcopacie wherein ( God know's ) I do not gratifie anie design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

5 And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it bee just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Mee their King and Sovereign, as som men  
10 have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My judgment, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desire's not more then I do, That the Church should bee go-  
15 verned, as Christ hath appointed, *in true Reason*, and *in Scripture*; in which I could never see anie probable shew for anie otherwaies: who either content themselvs with the examples of som Churches in their infancie and solitude, when one  
20 Presbyter might serv one Congregation in a Citie or Countrie; or els denie these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Govern-  
25 ment beeing necessarie for the Church's well-beeing, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority they had above others; which could not end with  
30 their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest, primitive, and best Churches flourished under Episcopacie; and may so still; if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderlie and disloial passions had not so blown up som men's mindes 5 against it, that, what they want of Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supplie with violence and oppression; wherein som men's zeal for Bishop's-Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacie: which ( however 10 other men esteem ) to Mee is no less sin, then Sacrilege, or a robbrie of God (the giver of all wee have ) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; thorough whose hands 15 hee graciously accept's even *a cup of cold water*, as alibation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgment, I am solemnly obliged to preserv that 20 Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the function, as Antichristian, ( which som men boldly, but weakly calumniate ) I could soon, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously 25 was taken by Mee:

But beeing daily, by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; *how can anie man, that wisheth not My damnation*, 30 *perswade Mee at once to so notorious and combined*



*binde's sins of Sacrilege and Perjurie?* besides the manie personal Injustices I must do to manie worthie men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as anie, who seek to deprive them; and  
 5 they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can  
 10 at once tell Mee, that My Coronation-Oath binde's Mee to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Mee, ( which they urge with such violence ) though contrarie to all that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought  
 15 to preserv; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet, at the same time, these men will needs perswade Mee, That I must, and ought to dispens with; and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's Mee ( agreeable to the  
 20 best light of Reason and Religion I have ) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange, My Oath should bee valid in that part, which both My self and all men in their own case esteem injurious and unreasonable,  
 25 as beeing against the verie natural and essential libertie of our souls; yet it should bee invalid, and to be broken in another claus, wherein I think My self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held  
 30 so long, by som men's ambitious Covetousness and Sacrilegious Crueltie, torturing ( with Mee )  
 both

both Church and State, in Civil dissensions; till I shall bee forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what ( God know's ) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor; as manie waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion : 5  
and whereto if I should shamefully and dishonorably give My consent, yet should I not, by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Mee and Episcopacie. 10

Nor can *My late condescending to the Scots, in point of Church-Government*, bee rightly objected against Mee, as an inducement for Mee to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it should bee considered that Episcopacie was not 15  
so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I, in that respect, so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely-necessarie for all places, and at all times. 20

If anie shall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledg it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I beeing now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them 25  
been so happie and successful as to encourage Mee to grant the like to others.

Did I see anie thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charitie, and Loialtie in those that pretend to other *modes* of Govern- 30  
ment, I might suspect My judgment to bee  
biassed,

biassed, or fore-stalled with som prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much caus to suspect the contrarie in the manners of manie of those men, that I cannot from them  
5 gain the least reputation for their new waie of Government.

Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion)  
10 either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished beyond what they have don in My Kingdoms ( by God's blessing) which might make Mee believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence  
15 upon the Church and men's hearts and lives, then Episcopacie in it's right Constitution.

The abuses of which, deserv to bee extirpated, as much as the use reteined; for, I think, it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform  
20 Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltye.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-  
25 affairs should bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment  
30 and Conscience, I hope God will preserv Mee.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest My uprightness and tenderness; as Thou hast set Mee to bee a Defendor of the Faith, and a Protector of Thy Church; so suffer Mee not, by anie violence, to bee over-born against My Conscience.

5

Arise; O Lord, maintein Thine own Caus; let not Thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from Thy Apostles, hath been reteined in purest and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of Secular envie; which seek's to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

10

Make Mee, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to Thy afflicted Church; which som men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pitie, or reliev.

15

As My power is from Thee, so give Mee grace to use it for Thee.

And though I am not suffered to bee Master of My other Rights, as a King; yet preserv Mee in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and Thy Church's welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience, as a Christian.

20

Preserv, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which Thy Providence hath bestowed on Thy Church for Thy Glorie.

25

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved Thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boar and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform Thy Vineyard, which Thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happie and flourishing estate.

30

L

O let



O let Mee not bear the infamous brand, so all Posteritie, of beeing the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of Thy Church and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with  
 5 Constantine, cover with silence and reform with meekness, then expose their Persons and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered with, and for Thy Church; make no long tarrying O My  
 10 God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continued such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of Thy Church's peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms, and disorders.  
 15 ders.

O Thou God of Order, and of truth, in Thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of Thine, Mine, and Thy Church's enemies:

20 That I, and all that love Thy Church, may sing praises to Thee, and ever magnifie Thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. Upon Uxbridg-Treatie, and other Offers  
 25 made by the KING.

I Look upon the waie of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs.  
 30

And though I could seldom get opportunities  
 to

to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire, or disposition to it; having *greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword*: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It beeing an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, 10 then Force; but also of Christianitie, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My self with Arms; so I verie willingly embraced anie thing tending to peace. 15

The events of all War by the Sword beeing verie dubious; and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did anie success I ever had enhance with 20 Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: *All that I sought to reserv,* was *Mine Honor, and My Conscience*; the one I could not part with, as a KING; the other, as a Christian. 25

The Treatie at *Uxbridg* gave the fairest hopes of an happie composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended. 30

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor,

Honor, and Conscience, would give Mee leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My People's happiness; or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered My Subject's either securitie, or prosperitie; for they better enjoied both, manie years, before ever those demands were made; som of which to denie, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and Favor to My Subjects.

- 10 I see, *Jealousies* are not so easily allaiied, as they are raised: *Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage*: what is wanting in equitie, must bee made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enjoie in Peace, or to lose in  
15 War, studied to render the verie Name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least libertie of prudence, having so manie strict Ties of Conscience upon Mee, yet I was willing to condescend  
20 so far to the settling of them, as might have giv'n fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousness, or superstition had not engaged more, then anie true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

- 25 I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true pietie; I onely sought to continue what was necessarie in point of Order, Maintenance, and Autoritie to the Church's Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have \* self-  
30 where set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government

vernment, raised to its full stature and perfection ; as also to the Primitive- Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Universal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without anie <sup>5</sup> probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie som men's wils and phantasies ( which yet agree not among themselvs in anie point, but that of extirpating Episcopacie, and fighting against Mee ) must needs argue such a softness, and infir- <sup>10</sup> mitie of minde in Mee, as will rather part with God's Truth, then Man's Peace ; and rather lose the Church's honor, then crosse som men's Fancious humors.

God know's, and time will discover, who were <sup>15</sup> most too blame for the un-succesfulness of that Treatie, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities ; I believ, I am verie excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I <sup>20</sup> endeavoured no less the restauration of Peace to My people, then the preservation of My own Crowns to My posteritie.

*Som men have that hight, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness ; and <sup>25</sup> glorie most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.*

A grand Maxim with them was *alwaies to ask something, which, in Reason and Honor, must bee de- <sup>30</sup> nied, that they might have som color to refuse*



*all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Mee destroy My self by dishonorable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.*

This was all which that Treatie, or anie other produced, to let the world see, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

- 10 That it gave occasion to some men's further restiveness is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Concessions, or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regret and blame for what  
15 they refused.

*The highest tide of success set Mee not above a Treatie; nor the lowest ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it anie sign of true valor to be prodigal of men's lives, rather then to be drawn  
20 to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other men's.*

That which made Mee for the most part preface the unsuccessfulness of anie Treatie, was, some men's unwillingness to Treat: which implied  
25 some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellors.

I praise God forgive them that were guiltie of  
30 that Treatie's-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better

better opportunitie to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may bee happily obtain'd; what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may gain by our Praiers. 5

*O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to bee reconciled with Thy self; who wantest not power, 10 or justice, to destroye them, yet aboundest in Mercie to save; soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with Thy self, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for 15 Peace! but when I speak thereof, they make them readie to War.*

*Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.*

*Clear up our understandings to see Thy Truth, both 20 in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.*

*Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts against Thee: and give us that charitie which 25 should bee among our selves.*

*Remove the evils of War wee have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.*

19. *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.*

5 **T**He various Successes of this unhappie war have, at least, afforded Mee varietie of good Meditations: somtimes God was pleased to trie Mee with victorie, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks  
10 to own, and use his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he please's to repress the confidence of those that fought against Mee, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part hee let  
15 Mee see that I was not wholly forsaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Mee not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

20 *My sins somtimes prevailed against the justice of My Caus*: and those that were with Mee wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Mee: Nor were My enemies less punished by that prosperitie, which hardened  
25 them to continue that injustice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but *personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick*  
30 *engagements*; nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument

to assert in the waie of War a righteous Cause ;  
The more men are prone to arrogate to their  
own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God  
ordinarily work by them for his own Glorie.

I am sure *the event or success can never state the  
Justice of anie Cause, nor the peace of men's Conscien-  
ces, nor the eternal welfare of their Souls.*

Those with Mee had (I think) clearly and un-  
doubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of  
God, and the Laws of the Land, together with 10  
their own Oaths ; all requiring obedience to My  
just Commands ; but to none other under Hea-  
ven without Mee, or against Mee, in the point of  
raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the 15  
shifts of som pretended Fears, and wilde funda-  
mentals of State (as they call them) which actu-  
ally overthrow the present fabrick both of  
Church and State ; beeing such imaginarie Rea-  
sons for self-defens as are most impertinent for 20  
those men to allege, who, beeing My Subjects,  
were manifestly the first assaulters of Mee and the  
Laws ; first by unsuppressed Tumults ; after by  
lifted Forces. The same Allegations, they use,  
will fit anie Faction, that hath but power and 25  
confidence enough to second with the sword all  
their demands against the present Laws and Go-  
vernors ; which can never bee such as som side or  
other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what  
they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion 30  
against them ; som *parasitick Preachers* have dared



to call those *Martyrs*, who died fighting against Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title  
 5 can with Truth bee applied onely to those, who  
 sincerely preferred God's Truth and their dutie,  
 in all these particulars, before their lives, and all  
 that was dear to them in this world; who, having  
 no advantageous designs by anie Innovation,  
 10 were religiously sensible of those Ties to God,  
 the Church, and My self, which laie upon their  
 Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through  
 his Mercie, crown manie of them with eternal  
 15 life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The  
 destruction of their bodies beeing sanctified, as a  
 means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as a  
 gracious opportunitie for their eternal health and  
 20 happiness; while the evident approach of death  
 did, through God's grace, effectually dispose their  
 hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance,  
 which together with the Rectitude of their pre-  
 sent engagement, would fully prepare them for a  
 25 better life then that, which their enemies brutish  
 and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of; or,  
 without Repentance, hope to enioie.

They have often, indeed, had the better against  
 My side in the field; but never, I believ, at the Bar  
 30 of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences;  
 where they are more afraid to encounter those

manie

manie pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery, to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Mee.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duely value's his dutie, his soul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glorie, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now-convicted Consciences do pursue them; especially since they and all the world have seen, how fals and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Mee and the Laws established; in whose safetie and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrie doth consist.

*For and with all which it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.*

I have often praied, that all on My side might join true pietie with the sens of their Loialtie; and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet

Yet I cannot think, that anie shews, or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispense with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loialtie to Mee, which have so pregnant convictions on men's Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their Lives for Mee.

*I never had anie victorie which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like*  
 10 *Absolom*, died manie of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered anie Defeat, which made Mee despair of God's Mercie and defense.

*I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of*  
 15 *My people*, which I saw were extremely oppressed together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of anie just restraint.

When Providence gave Mee, or denied Mee Victorie, My desire was neither to boast of My  
 20 power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make *all things work together for My good*.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and  
 25 My Friends to peace.

*I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over My self*. When the first was denied, the second was granted Mee, which God saw best  
 30 for Mee.

The different events were but the methods of  
 Divine

Divine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and, by deferring Peace, hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing. 5

My often-Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it. 10

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad Mee to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to som Men, by 15 confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modestie and gratitude, which became their Loialtie and My confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been obeyed more. 20

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happie conclusion of so unhappie beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to bee quiet: wee, *having 25 conquered His patience, are condemned, by mutual conquerings, to destroye one another*: for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

*Those Victories are still miserable, that leav our 30 sins unsubdued*; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries. Peace



Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

*When wee fight more against our selves, and less against God, wee shall ceas fighting against one another;* I praie God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happie conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obeie God, and govern My People; and they may learn better to obeie both God, and Mee.  
 10 Nor do I desire anie man should bee further subject to Mee, then all of us may bee subject to God.

O My God, make Mee content to bee overcom, when  
 15 Thou wilt have it so.

*Teach Mee the noblest Victorie over My self, and My Enemies by Patience; which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.*

*Between both Thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of Pietie Thou likest best.*

*Forgive the Pride that attend's our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when, going forth in our own strength, Thou with-*  
 25 *drawest Thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.*

*Bee Thou all, when wee are something, and when wee are nothing; that Thou mai'st have the glorie, when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.*

*Thou, O Lord, knowest, how hard it is for Mee to suffer so much evil from My Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils*

evils which they compel Mee to inflict upon them, punishing My self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and beeing conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech Thee to give Mee a double portion of Thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can bee sufficient for Mee.

As I am most afflicted, so make Mee most reformed, that I may bee not onely happie to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to My Kingdoms. 10

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with Reason, Moderation, and such Self-denial, as becom's those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefest interest. 15

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, Thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War Thou should'st see fit still to denie us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give Mee Thy Servant, and all Loial, though afflicted, Subjects, to enjoie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us. 20

Impute not to Mee the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by Mee in My just and necessarie defense; but wash Mee with that pretious blood which hath been shed for Mee by My great Peace-maker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeem Mee shortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joie of Hypocrites is but for a moment. 30

20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

5 **N**O Glorie is more to bee envied then that of due reforming either Church or State; when deformities are such; that the perturbation and Novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

10 Although God should not honor Mee so far, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should bee glad to see it don.

As I was wel-pleased with this Parliament's first Pretensions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might  
15 have depraved; so I am sorrie to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the *good Laws established, and the Religion settled*; which ought to bee the first Rule and Standard of re-  
20 forming: with how much partialitie and Popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

25 What *dissolutions* of all Order and Government in the Church, what *Novelties* of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what *undecencies* and confusions in sacred Administrations, what *sacrilegious invasions* upon the Rights and Revenues  
30 of the Church, what *contempt and oppressions* of the Clergie, what *injurious diminutions* and persecutions

cutings of Mee have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and (with My self) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that *popular* 5  
*Glamors and Furie have been allowed the reputation of*  
*Zeal* and the Publick sens; so that *the studie to*  
*pleas som Parties hath indeed injured all.*

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are  
sure the best tempers of reforming Counsils and 10  
endeavours: *What is acted by Factions cannot but of-*  
*send more then it pleaseth.*

I have offered to put all differences in Church-  
affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a  
Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the re- 15  
sults of whose Counsils as they would have in-  
cluded the Votes of all, so 'tis like they would  
have giv'n most satisfaction to all.

The Assemblie of Divines, whom the two  
Houses have applied (in an unwonted waie) to ad- 20  
vise of Church-affairs, I dislike not further, then  
that they are not legally convened and chosen;  
nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*;  
nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie  
thing, beeing limited and confined, if not over- 25  
awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so manie men cried up for  
learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Li-  
turgie and Government of the Church of *Eng-*  
*land*, as to the main, would have so suddenly 30  
agree'd quite to abolish both of them (the last



of which, they knew to bee of Apostolical institution at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrarie Factions had not, by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and, in them, of Order, Learning and Religion; against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as, in that point, shin'es on My understanding.

For I conceiv, that, *where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.*

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for That, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that Antient Order, I think it neither just as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsils, and such (I beleev) as would have

giv'n

giv'n more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's designs; which, no doubt, manie of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles of *Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom* (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the nois of a *thorough-Reformation*, these may as easily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured figures.

The *breaking of Church-windows*, which Time had sufficiently defaced; *pulling down of Crosses*, which were but civil, not Religious marks; *defacing of the Monuments* and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The *leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities* in the publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what hee may saie *Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Praiers, Preaching, and other Offices: The setting forth also of old Catechisms and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before som four or five years consulta-

tion had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion :

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give som short flashes of content to the *Vulgar*, who are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies, verie much, but not verie long : But all this amount's not to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of the Church's thorough-Reformation, since they leav all things more deformed, disorderlie, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

15 Nor can they easily recompens or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, til due remedies be applied.

I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But som men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so manie Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of *Christ's Spirit* for meek-

meekness, wisdom, and charitie, in men's hearts, as there was of his *Name* used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glorie, the Churches's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

*Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts which they purpose to trie on others;* for Deformities within will soon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reformation to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure *the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State;* nor can Religion bee justly advanced by *depressing Loyaltie*, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but *Christ's Kingdom may bee set up without pulling down Mine;* nor will anie men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselvs good Subjects.

*Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it;* since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glorie, & his Churches's good.

Had som men truly intended *Christ's Government*, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill-governed in their words and actions, both against Mee and one another.



As good ends cannot justifie evil means ; so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions ; unless GOD, by a miracle of Mercie, create Light out of Darkness, Order out of our  
 5 Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely can'st give us beantie for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie ; suffer us ~~not~~ to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, in stead  
 10 of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within ; make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls ;

That wee may in clearness of Judgment, and uprightness of heart bee a means to reform what is indeed  
 15 amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us ; that wee may do all by Thy directions, to Thy glorie, and with Thy blessing.

Pitie the deformities which som rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State :  
 20 Quench the fires which FaCTIONS have kindled, under the pretens of Reforming.

As Thou hast shewed the world, by their divisions and confusions, what is the pravitie of som men's intentions, and weakness of their judgments ; so bring  
 25 us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations : wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetousness, or Sacrilege, may have anie influence upon their counsels,  
 30 whom Thy Providence in just and lawful waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessarie work :

work : that I and My people may bee so blest with inward Pietie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

21. Upon His Majestie's Letters taken and divulged.

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected it, so, they knew not how 10 with Honor and Civilitie to use : Nor do I think, with sober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: *The greatest experiments of Virtue 15 and Nobleness beeing discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy*; and the greatest obligations beeing those, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could least have expected them. 20

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and secrecie of which command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expose them to Publick 25 view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart ( which I studie to approve to God's omniscience ) should bee discovered to the world, without anie of those dressees or 30 popular captations which som men use in their

Speeches and Expresses; *I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts:*

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more  
5 to preserv My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both Deceived and Destroyed.

Nor can anie men's malice bee gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancie to My  
10 Wife, the Laws, and Religion. *Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider suck's Poison.*

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who love's Mee, or the Com-  
15 mon-wealth; since *My Subjects can hardly bee happie, if I bee miserable*; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppressed.

The world may see how som men's design, like *Abfalom's*, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances,  
20 as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

25 The integritie of My intentions is not jealous of anie injurie My expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacie may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions; yet  
30 the Innocencie of My chief purposes cannot bee so stained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to

let

let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an  
 happie composure of differences with Justice and  
 Honor, not more to My own, then My People's  
 content, who have anie sparks of Love or Loial-  
 tie left in them: who, by those My Letters, may  
 be convinced, that I can both minde and Act  
 Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, so as be-  
 com's a Prince; which Mine Enemies have al-  
 waies been verie loth should be believed of  
 Mee; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates  
 and Directions of others, whom they pleas to  
 brand with the names of *Evil Counsellors*.

It's probable some men will now look upon Mee  
 as My own Counsellor; and, having none elf to  
 quarrel with under that notion, they will here-  
 after confine their anger to My self: Although I  
 know they are verie unwilling I should enjoie that  
 libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that  
 light of My own Conscience, which they labor  
 to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves;  
 not allowing Mee to think their Counsels to be  
 other then good for Mee, which have so long  
 maintained a War against Mee.

The Victorie they obtained that daie, when My  
 letters became their prize, had been enough to  
 have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popu-  
 lar glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Pro-  
 speritie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus; as  
 Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and  
 dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the  
 shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oft'ner  
 attend



attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see *no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.*

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all  
 10 sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: *The taking away of My Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the*  
 15 *taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms;* First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first, to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then be destroyed:  
 20 But I know God's unerring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most pervers wills and designs of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemy's thoughts and actions to My good.

25 Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more than so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most become's such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they owe to their KING, present, and  
 30 after-

after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them som *secret impressions* of that *shame and dishonor*, which attend's all unworthie actions, have they never so much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderneſs which *Noah's Sons* bare to 10 their Father; nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Cham's* impudencie, or exempt him from that curse of beeing *Servant of servants*; which curse must needs bee on them who seek by dishonorable actions to please the *Vulgar*, and confirm by ignoble acts 15 their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions bee ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose Me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that 20 Dutie of modest concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in case they had discovered anie real uncomlineſs; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as hee did *David*) more respected in 25 the hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Mee as a *vile Person*, not fit to bee trusted, or considered, under anie notion of Majestic.

But Thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing pro-  
vidence

vidence ordereth the greatest contingencies of human affairs, make Mee to see the constancie of Thy Mercies to Mee, in the greatest advantages Thou seemest to give the malice of My Enemies against Mee.

5 As Thou did'st blast the counsel of Achitophel, turning it to David's good, and his own ruine; so can'st Thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing My private letters, nothing els, but to render Mee more odious and contemptible to My people.

10 I must first appeal to Thy Omniscience, who can'st witness with My integritie, how unjust and fals those scandalous mis-constructions are, which My enemies endeavour by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

15 Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby, against Mee, so to return on their own heads, that they may bee ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou see'st how Mine Enemies use all means to cloud  
20 Mine Honor, to pervert My purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee dishonored for Thy sake, and Thy Church's good.

Fix in Mee a purpose to honor Thee, and then I know  
25 Thou wilt honor Mee; either by restoring to Mee the enjoiment of that Power and Majestie, which Thou hast suffered som men to seek to deprive Mee of; or by bestowing on Mee that crown of Christian patience, which know's how to serv Thee in honor, or dishonor, in good  
30 report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honor;

nor; Thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make  
 Mee to partake of thy excellencie for wisdom, justice,  
 and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honor  
 and Majestie, which becom's the Place in which Thou  
 hast set Mee; who art the lifter up of My head, and My  
 salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Mee to Thy Glorie, which  
 is both true, and eternal.

22. Upon His Majestie's leaving Oxford, and  
 going to the Scots.

ALTHOUGH God hath giv'n Mee three King-  
 doms, yet in these Hee hath not now left  
 Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and  
 Honor rest My Head: Shewing Mee that Him-  
 self is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower  
 of Defens, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much,  
 as to God; Hee will have it thus; that I may  
 wholly cast My self, and My now distressed Af-  
 fairs upon his Mercie, who hath both the hearts  
 and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to  
 Prudence: Necessitie is now My Counsellor, and  
 command's Mee to studie My safetie by a dis-  
 guised withdrawing from My chiefeft strength,  
 and adventuring upon their Loialtie, who first  
 began My Troubles. Haply God may make them  
 a means honorably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and  
 over-



*overcom Them: My rend'ring My Person to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft professed, They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

5 I must now resolv the *riddle of their Loialtie*; and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they saie.

Yet must God bee My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Com-  
10 forter: Though I put My Bodie into their hands, yet I shall reserv My Soul to God, and My self: nor shall anie necessities compel Mee to desert Mine Honor, or swerv from My Judgment.

What they fought to take by Force, shall now  
15 bee giv'n them in such a waie of unusual Confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to bee really such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God see's it not enough to deprive Mee of all  
20 Militarie power to defend My self; but to put Mee upon using their power, who seem to fight against Mee, yet ought in Dutie to defend Mee.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes bee, that their  
25 greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leav those that have Adhered to Mee, and applic to those that have Opposed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous  
30 then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made:  
and

and in it I am no less solicitous for My Friend's safetie, then Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loialtie to all extremities.

*It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; 5  
better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.*

I must now studie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Soul's libertie, or make My Conscience their Captive; who 10  
ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My Consent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no success darken's, or disguise's Truth to Mee; and I shall no less conform My 15  
words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loial Subjects, *full of power.*

*Reason is the divinest power.* I shall never think My self weak'ned while I may make full and free 20  
use of that. No eclips of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light; *What God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supplie with inward resolutions;* not morosely to denie, what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, 25  
which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie.

I shall never think My self less then My self while I am able thus to preserv the Integrity of My Conscience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls! the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eies are towards Thee; To the protection of Thy Mercie I still commend My self.

5 As Thou hast preserved Mee in the daie of Battel; so Thou can'st still shew Mee Thy strength in My weakness.

Bee Thou unto Mee in My darkest night, a Pillar of Fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the daie of My  
10 hottest affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud to over-shadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not anie perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion,  
15 which have made Mee thus far to hazard My Person, Peace, and Safetie, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompanie  
20 Mee, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reason, and that fortress of My Soul, which I am entrusted with to keep for Thee.

Lead Mee in the paths of Thy Righteousness, and shew  
25 Mee Thy Salvation.

Make My waies to pleas Thee, and then Thou wilt make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with Mee.

23. Upon the Scot's delivering the KING to the English; and His Captivitie at Holmbie

— Yet may I justifie those Scots to all the World in this, That *they have not deceived Mee*; for *I never trusted to them further, then to men*: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorrie they should do it; and that My price should bee so much above My Saviour's. 10

These are but further Effaies, which God will have Mee make of man's uncertaintie; the more to fix Mee on himself, who *never faileth them that trust in him*: Though the *Reeds of Egypt* break under the hand of him that lean's on them; yet the *Rock of Israël* will bee an everlasting staie and defence. 15

God's Providence command's Mee to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoie My self; whom I lose, while I let out My hopes to others. 20

The solitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, give's Mee leasure enough to studie the world's vanitie and inconstancie.

God see's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly His, who alone is All. 25

I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes. 30

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin; nor  
N gains



*gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.*

They have no great caus to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My  
5 Soul is still My own: Nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call Obstinacie, I know God account's honest Constancie; from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Mee to  
10 recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Counselors with Mee, but a good Conscience in Mee, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till  
15 they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what som men desire, I should bee such as they wish Mee: not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtain,  
20 neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safetie to a Prince, yet hath it not more of danger.

*The fear of men shall never bee My snare; nor shall the love of anie libertie entangle My Soul: Better  
25 others betraie Mee, then My self; and that the price of My Libertie should bee My Conscience: The greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own consent.*

While I can denie with Reason, I shall defeat  
30 the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily what I have alreadie

readie granted; nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroie My self and Mine.

Although they should Destroie Mee, yet they shall have no caus to Despise Mee.

*Neither libertie, nor life are so dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all.*

The Laws will, by God's blessing, revive, with the love and Loialtie of My subjects, if I burie them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice, which som men's violence hath digged for them.

If My captivitie, or death must bee the price of their redemption, I grudg not to paie it.

*No condition can make a King miserable, which carrie's not with it his Soul's, his People's, and Posteritie's thraldom.*

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that *I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them*; haply I might redeem My self to som shew of libertie, if I would consent to enslave them: *I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them*; from whom I praie God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee, whose solitude hath not left Mee alone.

For Thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, art with Mee; Whose presence is better then life, and Whose service is perfect freedom.

Own Mee for Thy Servant, and I shall never have  
5 caus to complain for want of that libertie, which becom's a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless Mee still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.

10 Though Thou suffereſt Mee to bee stript of all outward ornaments; yet preserv Mee ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoie Thy self; and which cannot bee taken from Mee against My will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over My passion to anie  
15 impatience, or sordid fears.

There bee manie saie of Mee, There is no help for Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of Thy Countenance upon Mee, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

20 Give Mee that measure of Patience and Constancie, which My condition now require's.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My Person restrained: O bee not Thou far from Mee, lest My Enemies prevail too much  
25 against Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a scorn to manie: O bee Thou My Helper and Defendor.

Shew some token upon Mee for good, that they, that hate Mee, may bee ashamed, becaus Thou Lord hast  
30 holpen and comforted Mee: establish Mee with Thy free Spirit that I may do and suffer Thy Will, as Thou would'st have Mee. Bee

Bee merciful to Mee, O Lord, for My Soul trusteth in Thee : yea, and in the shadow of Thy wings will I make My refuge until these calamities bee over-past.

Arise to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O My God. Though Thou killest Mee, yet will I trust in Thy 5. Mercie, and My Saviour's Merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though Thou ledest Mee through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

10

24. Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.

WHEN Providence was pleased to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and secular 15 Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have caus'd to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I 20 hoped to bee either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and use of them in God's good time: so reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amid'st the thorns, and after the 25 blowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The solitude, they have confined Mee unto, 30 add's the Wilderness to My temptations; For



*the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more sad then anie solitude can bee.*

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had been  
 5 no wonder to have been denied in those things, where *the evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation:* But to denie Mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbaritie,  
 10 then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors; whom, though the *Justice of the Law* deprive's them of worldlie comforts, yet the *Mercie of Religion* allow's the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming  
 15 at once to destroie their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discrete Divine:  
 20 and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They, that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things els, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

25 Other sens Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of som of My Chaplains.

I have somtime thought the Unchristianness  
 30 of those denials might arise from a displeasure som men had to see Mee prefer My *own Divines* before

before *their Ministers*: whom, though I respect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think so proper for anie present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the sobrest of them so apt for that *Devotional compliance* and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; since, their judgements standing at a distance from Mee, or in jealousy of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose *golden Rule*, and bond of Perfection consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

*Som Remedies are worse then the Disease; and som Comforters more miserable then Miserie it self*; when, like *Job's* friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to despair of God's Mercie; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a Friend to all Church-men, that have anie thing in them becomming that Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to

maintein their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as *Orphans*, and under the *Sacrilegious eies* of manie cruel and *rapacious Reformers*, I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a  
 5 Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandsomly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, then their own *ungrateful errors*, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have  
 10 brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pitie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choif of som for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My judgement, and most suitable to My  
 15 affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's praiers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue saie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own under-  
 20 standing, or belying his own soul.

*In Devotions I love neither Profane boldness, nor Pious non-sens;* but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shew's the Speaker to bee at once considerate of Gods Majestie, the Church's Honor,  
 25 and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all praiers, that  
 30 sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting Humilitie to God,  
 or

or Charitie to men, or Respect to the Dutie.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons; so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churches and everie Christian's dailie and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can bee of anie man's extemporarie sufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occasions; so I allow its just libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward manner of performance. Though *the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant and occasional, solitarie and social Devotions;*

So that I must needs seem to all equal mindes with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the *Liturgie* before their *Directorie*.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet should I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, bee able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use, which is already as much despised and disused by manie of them, as the Common Praier somtimes was by those men, a great part of whose



whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But *I had rather bee condemned to the wo of Væ soli, then to that of Væ vobis, Hypocritæ, by seeming to praie what I do not approve.*

- It may bee, I am esteemed by My Deniers sufficient of My self to discharge My dutie to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.
- 10 Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well becom the same Person; as antiently they were under one name, and the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two
- 15 eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a *Prophet*;
- 20 the other, of a *Preacher*: Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of those the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it *beeing infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to*
- 25 *conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.*

Yet since the order of God's Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings and Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the

30 Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorrie to finde My self reduced to the necessitie of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For

For such, as seek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie Power and Sovereigntie, would no less enforce Mee to live manie Months without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I become My own Chaplain.

5

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Christian King; so I desire to enioie from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other men's; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections less distracted, then those which are encomb'ed with Secular Affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attend's those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and Consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offer's it self and it's services to God, *Everie private believer is a King and Priest*, invested with the honor of a Royal Priest-hood; yet, as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think *Confusion in Religion will as certainly follow everie man's turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where everie one affect's to rule as King.*

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conscioufness to My spiritual defects make's Mee more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holie and  
good

30

good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Mee; so as to leav them  
 5 nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to desire, which I thought might less provoke their jealousie and offense to denie Mee, then this of having some means afforded Mee for My soul's comfort and support.  
 10 port.

To which end I made choise of men, as no waie (that I know) scandalous; so everie waie eminent for their Learning and Pietie, no less then for their Loialtie: nor can I imagine anie exceptions  
 15 to bee made against them but onely this, That they may seem too able and too well-affected toward Mee and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Mee to serv My  
 20 self; though I must confess *I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of anie other My Servants*; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these, indeed,  
 25 more of humane and temporarie affections; but from those, more of heavenlie and eternal improvements may bee expected.

My comfort is, that *in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.*  
 30

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help My Infirmities

firmities in praier, reading and meditation, (as I hope hee will) I shall need no other, either Orator, or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct My now- 5  
solitarie praiers; what I want of other's help, supplie  
with the more immediate assistances of Thy Spirit;  
which alone can both enlighten My darkness, and  
quicken My dulness.

O Thou Sun of Righteousness, Thou sacred Fountain 10  
of heavenlie light and heat, at once clear and warm My  
heart, both by instructing of Mee, and interceding for  
Mee: In Thee is all fulness; from Thee is al-sufficiencie;  
by Thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie enough,  
and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee also My 15  
Prophet, and My Priest: Rule Mee, Teach Mee, Praie  
in Mee, for Mee; and bee Thou ever with Mee.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with  
Thee, in that sacred Duel, when hee had none to second  
him but Thy self; who did'st assist him with power to 20  
overcom Thee, and by a welcom violence to wrest a  
blessing from Thee.

O look on Mee Thy Servant, in infinite Mercie, whom  
Thou did'st once blest with the joint and sociated De-  
votions of others; whose fervencie might inflame the 25  
coldness of My Affections towards Thee, when wee  
went to, or met in Thy House, with the voice of joie and  
gladness, worshipping Thee in the Unitie of spirits, and  
with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those 30  
happie opportunities.

It



It is now Thy pleasure that I should bee as a Pelican in the wilderness; as a Sparrow on the house top; and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and increase the holie fire of Thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence the Sacrifice of Praiers, and Incens of Praises, might bee duly offered up to Thee.

Yet, O Thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the  
10 weakness of My Praiers, nor the smotherings of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by some men's uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no less desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the sufferings of Mine to Thee, and for them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My praiers to Thee. Let their inexorable deafness incline Thine ear to Me; who art a God easie to bee entreated; Thine ear is not  
20 heauie, that it cannot, nor Thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor Thy hand short'ned, that it cannot help Mee Thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Mee of those outward means, which Thou hast appointed in Thy Church; but they cannot debar Mee from the communion of  
25 that inward grace, which Thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make Mee such, and Thou wilt teach Mee; Thou wilt hear Mee; Thou wilt help Mee: The broken and  
30 contrite heart, I know, Thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, can'st at once make Mee Thy Temple,  
Thy

Thy Priest, Thy Sacrifice, and Thine Altar ; while from  
an humble heart I ( alone ) daily offer up, in holie me-  
ditations, fervent praier, and unfeined tears, My self  
to Thee ; who preparest Mee for Thee, dwellest in Mee,  
and accepteſt of Mee. 5

Then, O Lord, did'st caus, by secret supplies and mi-  
raculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the ves-  
sel should not spend ; nor the little oil in the cruise fail  
the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on My soul, which, as a Widow, is now desolate 10  
and forsaken : let not those saving Truths, I have for-  
merly learned, now fail My memorie ; nor the sweet  
effusions of Thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now  
bee wanting to My Heart, in this famine of ordinarie  
and wholsom food, for the refreshing of My Soul. 15

Which yet I had rather chuse, then to feed from those  
hands who mingle My bread with ashes, and My wine  
with gall ; rather tormenting, then teaching Mee ;  
whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of Mee,  
then to heartie praier for Mee. 20

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest  
Thy Holie Scriptures to My destruction, which are clear  
for their subjection, and My preservation : O let it not  
bee to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men, under color of long 25  
praier, have sought to devour the houses of their  
Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those men's balms break My head, nor their  
Cordials oppress My heart ; I will evermore praie  
against their wickedness. 30

From the poison under their tongues, from the  
snares

snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Mee, O Lord, and all those Loial and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperitie of My soul, and who seek by their prayers  
5 to reliev this sadness and solitude of Thy servant, O My King, and My God.

## 25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at Holmbie.

10

**G**ive ear to My words, O Lord, consider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My crie, My King and My God, for unto Thee will I praie.

I said, in My haste, I am cast out of the sight of  
15 Thine eyes; nevertheless Thou hearest the voice of My supplication, when I crie unto Thee.

If Thou, Lord, should'st bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercie with Thee that Thou maiest bee feared; therefore shall  
20 sinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of My condition, the eminencie of My Place adding weight to My offenses.

Forgive, I beseech Thee, My Personal and My  
25 People's sins; which are so far Mine, as I have not improved the power Thou gavest Mee, to Thy Glorie, and My Subject's good: Thou hast now brought Me from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Prisoner to My own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to Thy  
30 over-ruling hand, because in manie things I have rebelled against thee.

Though

Though Thou hast restrained My Person, yet enlarge My heart to Thee, and Thy grace towards Mee.

I com far short of David's pietie; yet since I may equal David's afflictions, give Mee also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sens I have of My sins, bee an evi-  
dence to Mee, that Thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto Thee; though Thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn Thee (O Lord) unto Mee; have mercie upon Mee, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of My heart are enlarged; O bring  
Thou Mee out of My troubles. 15

Hast Thou forgotten to bee gracious, and shut up Thy  
loving kindeness in displeasure?

O remember Thy compassions of old, and Thy lo-  
ving kindenesses, which have been for manie gene-  
rations. 20

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleev'd to see  
Thy goodness in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the  
benefit of Thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial consume the dross, which in  
long peace and plentie wee had contracted. 25

Though Thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not  
Thy grace: what is wanting of prosperitie, make up  
in patience and repentance.

And if Thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away, 30  
but Thy hand of Justice must bee stretched out still;



*Let it, I beseech Thee, bee against Mee, and My Fathers hous; as for these sheep, what have they don?*

*Let My sufferings satiate the malice of Mine and 5 Thy Churches enemies.*

*But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of My charitie.*

*Banish from Mee all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward; nor Thou the glorie of My 10 patience.*

*As Thou givest Mee a heart to forgive them; so, I beseech Thee, do Thou forgive what they have don against Thee and Mee.*

*And now, O Lord, as Thou hast given Mee an 15 heart to praie unto Thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before Thee.*

*If Thou wilt in Mercie remember Mee, and My Kingdoms, in continuing the light of Thy Gospel, and settling Thy true Religion among us:*

*20 In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice:*

*In suppressing the manie Schisms in Church, and Façons in State:*

*If Thou wilt restore Mee and Mine to the Antient 25 rights and glorie of My Predecessors:*

*If Thou wilt turn the hearts of My people to Thy self in Pietie, to Mee in Loialtie, and to one another in Charitie:*

*If Thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the 30 fewel of these Civil Wars:*

*If Thou wilt bless us with the freedom of Publick Counsels,*

Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar :

If Thou wilt keep Mee from the great offens of en-acting anie thing against My Conscience; and especial-ly from consenting to sacrilegious rapins and spoilings of the Church :

If Thou wilt restore Mee to a capacitie to glorifie Thee in doing good, both to the Church and State :

Then shall My soul prais Thee, and magnifie Thy name before My People :

10

Then shall Thy Glorie bee dearer to Mee then My Crowns ; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power bee My chiefest care.

Then will I rule My people with Justice, and My Kingdoms with equitie :

15

To Thy more immediate hand shall I ever ow as the rightful succeßion, so the merciful restauration of My Kingdoms, and the glorie of them,

If Thou wilt bring Mee again with Peace, safetie, and honor, to My chiefest Citie, and My Parliament :

20

If Thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into My hand to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and My verie Enemies to enjoie the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian Charitie, which I now make unto Thee O Lord.

25

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended Mee in anie kinde, so My hand shall never bee against anie man to revenge what is past, in regard of anie particular injurie don to Mee.

30

Wee have been mutually punished in our unnatural

divisions; for Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of My Redemer, have I purposed this in My heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnestie and indemnitie, which may most fully remove all fears, and 5 burie all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let Thy Mercies bee toward Mee and Mine, as My resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward My people.

Hear My praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

10 Blessed bee God, who hath not turned awaie My praier; nor taken His Mercie from Mee.

O My soul, commit Thy waie to the Lord, trust in Him, and Hee shal bring it to pass.

But if Thou wilt not restore Mee and Mine, what 15 am I that I should charge Thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and Thou hast taken, Blessed bee Thy Name.

May My People and Thy Church bee happie, if not by Mee, yet without Mee.

20

26. Upon the Armies Surprizal of the KING at Holmbie, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Armie, and the Citie.

25

What part God will have Mee now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; som little practice will serv that Man, who onely seek's to represent 30 a part of Honestie and Honor.

This surprize of Mee tell's the world, that a King

*King cannot bee so low, but Hee is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where Hee appear's.*

This motion, like other's of the Times, seem's excentrick and irregular, yet not well to bee resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed; the younger striving to prevail against the elder: what the *Presbyterians* have hunted after, the *Independents* now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to bee drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen; and sound's too like the furie of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change My keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the People's Liberties, cannot bee utterly against the Libertie of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to Mee.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the *Presbyterian* rigor, who, sometimes complaining of ex-



acti<sup>ng</sup> their conformitie to Laws, are becom the  
greatest Exactors of other men's submission to  
their novel Injunctions, before they are stamped  
with the Autoritie of Laws, which they cannot  
5 well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents  
think themselvs manumitted from their Rivals  
service, in that they carrie on a business of such  
consequence, as the assuming My Person into the  
10 Armie's custodie, without anie Commission, but  
that of their own Will and Power. *Such as will  
thus adventure on a King, must not bee thought over-  
modest, or timorous to carrie on anie design they have a  
minde to.*

15 Their next motion menace's and scare's both  
the two Houses and the Citie: which, soon af-  
ter, acti<sup>ng</sup> over again that former part of tumult-  
uarie motions, ( never questioned, punished, or  
repented of ) must now suffer for both, and see  
20 their former sin in the glasse of the present terrors  
and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the  
hand of divine Justice; they, that by Tumults first  
occasioned the raising of Armies, must now bee  
25 chastened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

*So hardly can men bee content with one sin, but  
add sin to sin, till the later punish the former ;* such as  
were content to see Mee and manie Members of  
both Houses driven awaie by the first unsuppres-  
30 sed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie  
to defend themselvs against them.

But

But who can unfold the *Riddle of som men's Justice* ? The Members of both Houses who at first withdrew ( as My self was forced to do ) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted *Deserters*, and outed of their places in Parliament : 5  
Such as staid then, and enjoied the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men.

Now the *Fliers from*, and *Forakers* of their Places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with 10  
them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselvs by an Armie: Such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as *Abettors* of tumultuarie insolencies, and *Betrayers* of the freedom and honor of Parliament. 15

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present advantages then 20  
their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselvs. 20

Now the plea against Tumults hold's good; the Autors and Abettors of them are guiltie of prodigious insolencies; when as, before they were counted as Friends and necessarie Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursue's and overtake's ( as the 25  
Mice and Rats are said to have don a Bishop in *Germanie* ) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselvs most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

*Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own 30  
crimes and hands.*

I cannot but observ this Divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pitie ; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorrie to see them do or suffer anie thing unworthie such  
5 great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking : I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loialtie to Mee ; which mistakes might eclips,  
10 but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I praie God the storm bee yet wholly passed over them ; upon whom I look, as Christ did somtime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My praiers and tears, with compassionate grief, fore-seeing  
15 those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to bee gathered to their dutie : *Fatal blindeness frequently attending and punishing wilful ; so that men shal not bee able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not time-*  
20 *ly repent of their sins ; nor shall they bee suffered to enioie the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies ; there beeing nothing har-*  
25 *der then to keep ill men long in one minde.*

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of phansie, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publick consistencie ;  
30 whither I praie God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily bee don, when wee shall fully see

see how much more happie wee are, to bee subject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of anie men, seem they never so plausible at first.

*Vulgar compliance* with anie illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in Nature, soon grow's wearie of it self, and end's in a refractorie sullenness: People's rebound's are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the *Armie* (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles and interests, demanding Paie and Indemnitie) I think it necessarie, in order to the Publick peace, that they should bee satisfied, as far as is just; no man beeing more prone to consider them then My self: though they have fought against Mee, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valor and gallantrie they have somtime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintein My self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a Peace, as wherein they may enjoie their share and proportion as much as anie men.

*But Thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unitie in a sacred Trinitie, in Mercie behold those, whom Thy Justice hath divided.*

*Deliver Mee from the strivings of My People, and make Mee to see how much they need My praiers and pitie, who agree'd to fight against Mee, and yet are now readie to fight against one another, to the continuance of My Kingdome's distractions.*

*Discover to all sides the waies of Peace, from which*  
they



they have swerved : which consist's not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joint and due observation of the Laws.

Make Mee willing to go whither Thou wilt lead  
5 Mee by Thy Providence ; and bee Thon ever with Mee, that I may see Thy Constancie in the world's varietie and changes.

Make Mee even such as Thou would'st have Mee, that I may at last enjoie that safetie and tranquillitie  
10 which Thou alone canst give Mee.

Divert, I praie Thee, O Lord, Thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenitie is prone to add fewel to their luxurie ; their wealth to make them wanton ; their multitudes tempting them  
15 to securitie ; and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eies to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to Thy glorie and the publick Peace ; lest their calamitie com upon them as an armed man.  
20

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they bee long un-disarmed and un-destroyed, who, with a high hand persisting to fight against Thee and the clear convictions of their own  
25 Consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against Mee.

Their sins exposing them to Thy Justice, their riches to other's injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

30 Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroye Mee, yet let not My fall bee their ruine.

Let

Let Mee not so much consider, either what they have don, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to praie to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they know not what they did.

The tears they have denied Mee in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the less they weep for Mee, the more caus they have to weep for themselves.

10

O let not My blood bee upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of som, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Mee.

But Thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as Thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Mee by My sufferings, which have more in them of Thy mercie, then of man's crueltie, or Thy own justice.

15

## 27. To the Prince of Wales.

20

SON! if these Papers, with som others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Trou-  
bles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may bee so far useful to You, as to state Your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can bee made; And they may also give you som  
directions, how to remedie the present distempers,

25

30

pers,

pers, and prevent ( if God will ) the like for time to com.

It is som kinde of deceiving and lessening the injurie of My long restraint, when I finde My lea-  
 5 sure and solitude have produced somthing wor-  
 thie of My self, and useful to You ; That neither  
 You, nor anie other, may hereafter *measure My*  
*Caus by the Success* ; nor *My Judgment of things by*  
*My misfortunes* ; which I count the greater by far,  
 10 becaus they have so far lighted upon You, and  
 som Others, whom I have most caus to love as  
 well as My self ; and of whose unmerited suf-  
 ferings I have a greater sens then of Mine  
 own.

15 But this advantage of wisdom You have above  
 most Princes ; that You have begun, and now  
 spent som years of discretion, in the experience  
 of Troubles, and exercise of Patience, wherein  
 Pietie, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political,  
 20 are commonly better planted to a thriving, as  
 Trees set in winter, then in warmth and serene  
 of times ; or amid'st those delights, which usu-  
 ally attend Prince's Courts in times of Peace and  
 Plentie ; which are prone, either to root up all  
 25 plants of true Virtue and Honor ; or to bee con-  
 tented onely with som leavs, and withering for-  
 malities of them, without anie real fruits, such as  
 tend to the Publick good ; for which Princes  
 should alwaies remember they are born and by  
 30 Providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the

the Holie Writ afford's us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by manie afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other soft'ned by the unparallel'd prosperitie of *Solomon's* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatterers, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drive's away.

10

I had rather You should bee *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*; Good, then Great; I hope God hath designed You to bee both; having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vitious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princelie indowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

20

*With God I would have You begin and end*, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

*The best Government, and highest Sovereigntie* You can attein to, is, to bee subject to Him; that the Scepter of His Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

*The true glorie of Princes consist's in advancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churche's Good; Also in the dispensation of*  
Civil

30



*Civil Power, with Justice and Honor, to the Publick Peace.*

*Pietie will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from beeing miserable; nor is hee much a loser,*  
 5 *that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.*

To which center of true happines, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which Hee hath been pleased to draw on Mee, and by which Hee hath  
 10 (I hope) drawn Mee nearer to Himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I look upon as God's Physick, having that in healthfulness which it want's in pleasure.

15 Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, wel-grounded and settled in Your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your  
 20 own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written; that it may bee judiciously *Your own Religion*, and not *other men's custom or tradition* which You profess.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming  
 25 nearest to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have \* elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more  
 30 necessarie for Your Souls then Your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that *the Devil of Rebellion* doth commonly turn himself into an *Angel of Reformation*; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When som men's Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and nois of Religion; when Pietie plead's for Peace and Patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You bee well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroye You and Yours, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion: for that seem's even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affection, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severitie of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of *abetting anie Factions*, or applying to anie publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, and the Church's well settled; *Your partial ad- vancing, as Head, to anie one Side, gain's You not so great advantages in som men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion) as it loseth You in others*; who think themselvs and their profession first despised, then persecuted by You: Take such a course as may either with calmness and charitie quite

quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartialitie; or *so order affairs in point of Power that You shall not need to fear or flatter anie Faction.* For, if ever You stand in need of them, or  
 5 must stand to their Courtesie, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: *You may never expect less of Loialtie, Justice, or Humanitie, then from those, who engage into Religious Rebellion.* Their interest is alwaies made God's; *under the Colors of*  
 10 *Pietie, ambitious policies March, nor onely with greatest securitie, but applaus, as to the populacie;* You may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but You shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable then the *Pres-*  
 15 *byterian* Faction in *England*, for manie years; so compliant they were to Publick order; nor indeed was their Partie great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings, as ill humors fall to  
 20 the disaffected part, which causse's inflammations, so did all, at first, who affected anie Novel-  
 ties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference ( then ) in point of Religion.

25 All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to *Presbyterie*, their great Master: till time and militarie success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part  
 stakes; and, leaving the joint stock of uniform  
 30 Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of Profits and preferments, to

the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrosed all.

*Let nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Church's Peace,* so as to neglect a speedie reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as a hand-bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and to darken the whole Heaven.

When you have don Justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unities in Religion; the next main hinge on which Your prosperitie will depend and move, is, That of *Civil Justice*, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules You can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subjects' industrie, libertie, and happiness; and yet reserv enough to the Majestie and prerogative of anie King, who own's his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserv's their Propertie, Peace, and Safetie, so it will never diminish Your Rights, nor their *ingenuous Liberties*: which consist in the enjoiment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge Your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole bodie;



the weakness of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie delibilitation and ruine.

Your *Prerogative* is best shewed and exercised 5 in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there beeing *nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie*.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) 10 turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the testimonie of My own Conscience; the *Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing elf to object against Mee but this, That I prefer Reli-*  
15 *gion, and Laws established before those Alterations they propounded.*

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Mee, Tumults, 20 Armies, and Prisons.

*I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will You, That it is safe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Interest, and the Good of the Communitie.*

25 How God will deal with Mee, as to the removal of these pressuures and indignities, which His Justice, by the verie unjust hands of som of My Subjects, hath been pleased to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong  
30 I suffer from Men, while I retein in My soul, what I believ is right before G O D.

I have

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reason, Honor, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You also, as the 5 next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall, in His due time, after My deceas, bring You, as I hope hee will, My Counsel and Charge to You is, That 10 You seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon anie man's single counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing af- 15 fairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your Self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and King- 20 dom then anie man's.

Next, beware of exasperating anie Factions by the crosness, and asperitie of som men's passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser 25 matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipate's their strength, whom 30 rougher opposition fortifie's; and put's the despised and oppressed Partie into such Combinations,

as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their *Persecutors*, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attend's all, that are said to suffer under the  
5 notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

10 Alwaies keep up *Solid Pietie*, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that *outward circumstances* and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best  
15 encouragements of learning, industrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eie, and impartial hand, distribute favors and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

20 This will bee sure to gain You the hearts of the best and the most too; who, *though they bee not good themselvs, yet are glad to see the severer waies of Virtue at anie time sweetned by temporal rewards.*

I have, You see, conflicted with different and  
25 opposit Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in anie conformitie to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those  
30 that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to  
so

so high a *rivalrie*, as set's them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonist.

*Time will dissipate all Factions*, when once the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves; which were at first wrap't up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: *As the Wolf is not less cruel, so hee will be more justly hated, when hee shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.* 10

But as for the *seduced Train of the Vulgar*, who in their simplicitie follow those disguises, My Charge and Counsel to You is, that, as You need no palliations for anie Designs, (as other men) so 15 You studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of Goodness, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest nois and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, 20 who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People: who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from anie Subjects Noveltyes, as from the virtuous constancie of their 25 King.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the Sun-shine of God's Mercie, and the splendor of Your virtues, be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that 30 *None are greater Oppressors of their Estates, Liberties,*



*ties, and Consciences those men, that entitle themselves The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betraie You to anie studie of Revenge upon those, whose own*  
 5 *sin and follie will sufficiently punish them in due time.*

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, *use all Princely Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds;* that the smart of the  
 10 *Cure may not equal the anguish of the Hurt.*

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to bee anie waie obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serv to  
 15 *exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.*

I would have You alwaies propens to the same waie; when ever it shall bee desired and accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an Act of State-Policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie  
 20 *and Choise.*

*It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to forgive those, that have deprived Mee of all; and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it; and joie as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n Mee, as in all*  
 25 *My former enioiemnts; for this is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee, then anie prosperitie can bee*

Bee confident (as I am) that the most of all fides, who have don amiss, have don so, not out  
 30 *of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.*

None

None will bee more loial and faithful to Mee and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make som repara- 5 tions for their former defects.

As Your qualitie set's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject; so *the nobleness of Your minde must rais You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.* 10

The more conscious You shall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to expect all Love and Loialtie from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: *You will have more 15 inward complacencie in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.*

This I write to You, not despairing of God's Mercie, and My Subject's affections towards You, both which, I hope, You will studie to de- 20 serv, yet Wee cannot merit of God, but by His own Mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore Mee, and You after Mee, to those enjoiments, which the Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without 25 an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I shall bee so happie to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the 30 Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never see My face again, and God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfecting som men's designs require's) wherein few hearts  
 5 that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receiv the least check against, or dis-affection from *the true Religion esta-*  
 10 *blished in the Church of England.*

I tell You, *I have tried it, and after much search, and manie disputes, have concluded it to bee the best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed;*  
 15 *keeping the middle waie between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie.*

Not but that (*the draught beeing excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government,*  
 20 *in the Church of England*) som lines, as in verie good figures, may haply need som sweet'ning, or polishing; which might here have easly been don by a safe and gentle hand; if som men's precipitancie had not violently demanded such  
 25 *rude Alterations*, as would have quite destroyed all the Beautie and Proportions of the whole.

The *scandal of the late Troubles*, which som may object and urge to You against Protestant-Religion established in *England*, is easly answered  
 30 to them, or Your own thoughts, in this, That *scarce anie one who hath been a Beginer, or an active*  
*Prosecutor*

*Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Mee, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant-Religion, established in England: which neither give's such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.* 5

'Tis true, som heretofore had the boldness to present threat'ning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in Execution: but *let not counterfeited and disorderlie Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Pietie*; both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees. 15

Nor would I have You to entertain anie aversion, or dislike of Parliaments; which, in their right constitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminish Your Greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of Love, Loyalty, 20 and Confidence, between a Prince, & His People.

Nor would the events of this BLACK PARLIAMENT have been other then such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of Popu- 25 lar dictates, and tumultuarie impressions: The sad effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedom and Honor, which belong's to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off 30 this yoke of *Vulgar encroachment*) since the Publick interest



interest consist's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then, in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contribute  
 5 their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by Publick Consent, without Tyrannie or Tumults. *Wee must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsom food.*

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored  
 10 to Our Right, but God, in His severest Justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperitie of their wickedness; I hope God will give Mee, and You, that grace, which will teach  
 15 and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying, upon fordid, dishonorable, and irreligious terms.

*Keep You to true principles of Pietie, Virtue, and Honor; You shall never want a Kingdom.*

A principal point of Your honor will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother My Wife, who hath manie waies  
 25 deserved well of Mee, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blese Mee with so manie hopeful Children; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) Shee hath been content with incomparable magnanimitie and patience to suffer both for, and with Mee,  
 30 and You.

My praier to God Almighty is, (whatever be-  
 com's

com's of Mee, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocencie, and His Grace) that Hee would bee pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by Your 5 Wisdom, Justice, Pietie, and Valor, of what the follie and wickedness of som men have so far ruined, as to leav nothing entire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, 10 Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroied Mee, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions som men's words and actions have 15 already given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will crie aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out His wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deserted Mee, or engaged against Mee, through the 20 Artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will bee their first Tormentor; nor will they escape Exemplarie judgments.

For those that loved Mee, I praie God they may have no miss of Mee, when I am gon; so 25 much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may bee satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of anie defects in their Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in 30 the word of a Christian King; so I believ You will

will finde them truly Zealous, to repaie, with interest, that loialtie and love to You, which was Due to Mee.

In sum, what good I intended, do You Perform, when God shall give You Power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; *This Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion* (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Mee, as was pretended) *will not long serv to hide som men's deformities.*

Happie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loialtie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both their sin and their infelicitie.*

I praie God bless You and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your Honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloialtie perfected by My destruction, let My memorie ever, with My Name, live in You, as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom GOD thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of, but also with the Suffering manie indignities and an untimelie Death for them; while I studied to preserv the Rights of the Church, the power of the

the Laws, the honor of My Crown, the privilege of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and *My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thousand Kingdoms.*

I know God can, I hope Hee yet will restore Mee to My Rights. I cannot despair either of His Mercie, or of My People's love and pitie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Mee, and Mee for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

15

28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addressees, and His MAJESTIE'S closer imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.*

20

AS I have leasure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know *there are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.*

It is God's indulgence, which give's Mee the space, but Man's crueltie, that give's Mee the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lie's upon Mee, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other men's ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envie, or enmitie against

30



against Mee make's *their own lives seem deadlie to them, while I enjoie anie part of Mine.*

I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of Mortalitie:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death beeing an eclips, which oft happ'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But My now long and sharp aduersitie hath so  
10 reconciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allaid: for, although My death  
15 at present may justly bee represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I blefs God, I can look upon all those  
20 stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death against them; which, as to the immaturitie, injustice, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded whatever I can  
25 fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious Integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts  
30 with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I hope)

hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee somtime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That *it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to die daily*, in conquering, by a 5  
 livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, or 10  
 estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, *as a King, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and goodwill of My People*; for which as I have suffered 15  
 manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroe, first, the Love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that con- 20  
 tent of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed, they have left Mee but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee; 25  
 having bereaved Mee of all those worldlie comforts, for which life it self seem's desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie oppor- 30  
 tunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such  
 Christian

Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Caus, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Christian valor,  
 5 *it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life;* and a want of that Heroick greatness of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous susteining those *afflictions*, which as *shadows necessarily attend us*, while wee are in this  
 10 bodie; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperitie move's higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

*The assaults of affliction may bee terrible, like*  
 15 *Sampson's Lion, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them;* who know how to over-live the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet convers with God.

20 That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the mid'st of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects be-  
 25 ing helpless Spectators, My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane Reason, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwise, as to man's cruelty; however, I despair not of God's  
 30 infinite Mercie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and

and wicked men's malice ; but yet under God's sole custodie and disposal : Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die ; but I humbly desire to depend upon Him, and to submit to His will both in life and death, 5 in what order soever Hee is pleased to laie them out to Mee. I confesse it is not easie for Mee to contend with those manie horrors of death, wherewith God suffer's Mee to bee tempted ; which are equally horrid, either in the sudden- 10 nesses of a barbarous Assassination ; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may bee, seek to add ( as those did who crucified Christ ) the mockerie of Justice to the crueltie of Malice. 15 That I may bee destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with less pitie, it will bee but a necessarie policie to make My death appear as an *Act of Justice* don by Subject's upon their Sovereign ; who know that *no Law of God or Man invest's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee, much less against Mee :* and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man to endeavour My preservation, must *pretend Justice to cover their Perjurie.* 25

It is, indeed, a sad fate for anie man to have his Enemies to bee Accusers, Parties, and Judges ; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subject's against their Sovereign : wherein those, who have had the chiefeest hand, 30 and are most guiltie of contriving the Publick

Q

Troubles,



Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believ, in their own  
 5 consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. *Nothing make's mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, then this; the Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*;  
 10 on; notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguis at first the monstrosity of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the  
 15 Heir, whose right it is, bee cast out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must bee, that I would not either destroe My self with the Church and State by My Word; or not suffer  
 20 them to do it, unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think that Kingdom of brambles, which som men seek to erect  
 25 (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Roial blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will bee don: I doubt not but My  
 30 Innocencie will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My onely Judg; whom

whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the Eminencie of his Power and Majestie above them; but also for that singular Care and Protection, which hee hath over them: who knowe's them to bee exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will hee suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings. 10

I am confident they will finde *Avengers of My death* among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall bee first punished by them, who agree'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee. 15

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of My blood shall make them think no waie better to expiate it, then by shedding their's, who with them most thirsted after Mine. 20

The *sad confusions*, following My destruction, are alreadie presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone, who onely could, hath manie waies pleaded My caus; not suffering them to go unpunished, *whose confederacie in sin was their onely securitie*; who have caus to fear that God will both further divide, and, by mutual vengeance, afterward destroie them. 25

My greatest *Conquest of Death* is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd 30

up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that Hee give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate His example *in suffering for righteousness-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and praie  
 10 for them, that God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seem's to  
 15 bee their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor of what they pleas to call Justice; while they flatter themselvs with the Phancie of their own safetie by My Danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by My  
 20 Death: forgetting that, as *the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.*

25 I blefs God, I praie not so much that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting Mee, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to My death, are embrued  
 30 with My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine;

Mine ; *I shall have the pleasure of dying, without anie pleasure of desired vengeance.*

This I think, becom's a Christian toward his Enemies ; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I am <sup>5</sup> content to lose, when God see's fit by their hands to take it from Mee ; whose Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompens what ever by man's injustice Hee is pleased to deprive Mee of.

*The glorie attending My death will far surpass all* <sup>10</sup> *I could enjoie, or conceiv in life.*

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the shadows of My earthlie <sup>15</sup> Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himself.

For the Censures of the world ; *I know the sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of My Destroyers will suffi-* <sup>20</sup> *ciently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against Mee ;* I am perswaded I am happie in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not onely Pitie and Praie for Mee, but would bee content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

These know how to excuse My failings, as a <sup>25</sup> man ; and yet to retein and paie their dutie to Mee as their King, there beeing no Religious necessitie binding anie Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults & errors of their Princes ; especially there, where more then suffi- <sup>30</sup> cient satisfaction hath been made to the Publick ;



the enjoiment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believ, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp  
 5 Convictions, and som remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Mee in the Measure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enioie their own thumbs  
 10 and toes, having, under pretens of paring other's nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may bee like that of *Korah* and his com-  
 15 plices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of Divine Justice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and wor-  
 20 used Autoritie: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Mee, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consist's in My  
 25 Peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Caus so long disputed by the Sword, between Mee and My causless enemies: where, I doubt not, but His righteous judgment will con-  
 30 fute their fallacie, who from worldlie success (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians)

draw

draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (wee know) oft permit's manie events, which His revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approve's.

I am confident, the Justice of My Cause, and cleanness of My Conscience before God and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's decision, as their successes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that, *Manie times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prospect and applaus of the world, whose rise is from Hell,* as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. *The prosperous windes, which oft fill the sails of Pirats, do not justifie their Piracie and Rapine.*

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the just Libertie of My Subject's, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success, over-born them all; as some men have now evidently don, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I

shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand ( if it must bee so ) then they can give it to Mee, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against Mee.

5 And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith these desire I might still contend.

10 *I shall bee more then Conqueror through Christ enabling Mee*; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

15 If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but *Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom*: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall bee raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

20 Which I humbly beseech Him mercifully to accept; And, although death bee the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and Mee; yet, as I hope, My own sins are so remitted, that they  
25 shall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-  
30 managed victories over Mee.

Though their sin bee Prosperous, yet they had need

need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardon-  
ed: Both which I praie God they may obtain;  
that My temporal death, unjustly inflicted by  
them, may not bee revenged by God's just in-  
flicting eternal death upon them: for *I look upon*  
*the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far*  
*less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the*  
*meanest Subject.*

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of  
the ship to shore, when they have cast Mee over- 10  
board; though it bee *verie strange*, that *Mariners*  
*can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves*  
*have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.*

I thank God, *My enemies crueltie cannot prevent*  
*My Preparation*; whose malice in this I shall de- 15  
feat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to  
have destroyed My Soul with My Bodie; of  
whose salvation while som of them have them-  
selves seemed, and taught others to Despair, they  
have onely discovered this, that they do not much 20  
Desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, de-  
nying Mee even the assistance\* of anie of My  
Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie  
obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven. 25

*Where Thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest*  
*Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal*  
*life; in whom is no shadow of death.*

*Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon* 30  
*us; and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.*

Yea,



Yea, it is better for us to bee dead to our selvs, and live in Thee; then by living in our selvs to bee deprived of Thee.

O make the manie bitter Aggravations of My death  
5 as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of Thy special graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Christian.

If Thou Lord wilt bee with Mee, I shall neither fear,  
nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of  
10 the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcom it, is the grace of Thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

15 O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with Mee as a Man; make Mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with Thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know that Thou My Redeemer livest for ever: though Thou slaieest Mee, yet Thou hast  
20 encouraged Mee to trust in Thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not Thy favor from Mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from Mee, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to Mee.

25 As Thy Omniscience, O God, discover's, so Thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire My destruction.

O shew Mee the goodness of Thy will, through the wickedness of their's.

30 Thou givest Mee leav as a man to praie, that this Cup may pass from Mee; but Thou hast taught Mee

as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not My will, but Thine bee don.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly resolving Mine into Thine: let not the desire of life in Mee bee so great, as that of doing or suffering Thy will, in either 5 life or death.

As I believ Thou hast forgiv'n all the errors of My life; so I hope Thou wilt save Mee from the terrors of My death.

Make Mee content to leav the world's nothing, 10 that I may com really to enjoie all in Thee, who hast made Christ unto Mee in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though My Destroyers forget their Dutie to Thee and Mee; yet do not Thou, O Lord, forget to bee 15 Merciful to them.

For what profit is there in My blood, or in their gaining My Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted My just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against My self, though 20 they may deserv, yet let them not receiv to themselves damnation.

Thou mad'st Thy Son a Saviour to manie that crucified Him, while at once Hee suffered Violently by them, and yet Willingly for them. 25

O let the voice of His blood bee heard for My Murthe-  
rers, louder then the crie of Mine against them.

Prepare them for Thy Mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceiv and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in 30 destroying Mee, while the conscience of their unjust  
usurpation

usurpation of power against Mee chiefly tempt's them to use all extremities against Mee.

O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their mercies to Mee as verie fals, so verie cruel; who, pretending to  
5 preserv Mee, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitful men; but overcom their crueltie with Thy compassion, and My charitie.

And when Thou makest inquisition for My blood,  
10 O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the blood of Thy Son, that Thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

Though they think My Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and Mee; Yet let the  
15 capacious kingdom of Thy infinite Mercie at last receive both Mee and My enemies:

When, beeing reconciled to Thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, wee shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

20 When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon Mee, O let Mee fall into the arms of Thy tender and eternal Mercies.

That what is cut off of My life, in this miserable moment, may bee repaired in Thy ever-blessed Eternitie.

25 Lord, let Thy Servant depart in peace, for My eyes have seen Thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

Hebr. i. 4.

Ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται.

# P R A I E R S,

Used by His Majestie in the time of His  
SUFFERINGS.

Delivered to Doctor *Fuxon* bishop of LONDON  
immediately before His Death.

Also a Letter from the *PRINCE*.

## A *Praier* in time of Captivitie.



Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Miserie with Thine eie of Mercie, and let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out som proportion of deliverance unto Mee, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Mee; and let My faults by Thy hand bee corrected; and make not My unjust Enemies the ministers of Thy Justice: But yet, My God, if in Thy wisdom this bee the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions; if this ingrateful bondage bee fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart bee thus to bee broken; O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Mee suffer: Onely thus much let Mee crave of Thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, bee accepted of, since it even proceed's from Thee) that, by Thy goodness, which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer som beam of Thy Majestie so to shine in My minde, that I, who acknowledg it My Noblest Title to bee Thy Creature, may still, in My greatest Afflictions, depend confidently  
on



on Thee. Let Calamitie bee the exercise, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power bee to My destruction. And if it bee Thy will that they more and more vex Mee with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carrie a pure minde, and stedfast resolution ever to serv Thee, without fear or presumption; yet with that humble Confidence which may best pleas Thee: so that at the last I may com to Thy eternal Kingdom through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

### Another P R A I E R.

**A**lmightie and most merciful Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthie Servant who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely wel-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthie to stand before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holie and Eternal God; for as in sin I was conceived and born; so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting manie duties I ought to do, and committing manie vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of Thy heavie displeasure: as for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the Miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to com; if Thou should'st deal with Mee according to My deserts. I confess, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fail's,) which is the caus that I have not been long ago consumed: but with Thee there is Mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, That Thou would'st not enter into judgment with Thy servant, nor bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, but bee Thou merciful unto Mee, and wash away  
all

all My sins with that pretious blood that My Saviour shed for Mee. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy bolie Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption; and as Thou dost add daies to My life, so, good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have past this mortal life, I may bee partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A P R A I E R and C O N F E S S I O N, made in,  
and for the times of Affliction.

**A** Lmighty and most merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodness that admit's of Our imperfect Praiers, and the knowledg that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Us anie hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is Our bounden and necessarie dutie to confess our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee; that degree of knowledg which Thou hast giv'n Mee, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to bee shed by a fals-pretended waie of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong waie of Thy Worship to bee set up in Scotland? and injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldlie wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My praiers faultie: Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My praiers, that Thou may'st clear the waie for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to My deserved Afflictions. In the mean time give Mee Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a discerning Spirit to chuse, what is best for Thy Church and People

*People which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onelie Saviour. Amen.*

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**A P R A I E R** in time of imminent danger.

**O** Most merciful Father, though *My* sins are so manie and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free Mee from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeined repentance com to Thee for succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of Thy heavenlie favor: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Mee out of the hands, and protect Mee from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My beinious offenses will not otherwaies bee satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will bee don; yet, with humble Importunitie, I do, and shall never leav to implore the assistance of Thy heavenlie Spirit, that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My minde, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloodie Trial, that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise bee a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake, who suffered for Mee, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

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**F I N I S.**

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His Majestie's Reasons against the pretended  
Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which

Hee intended to deliver in Writing on Mundaie

Januarie 22. 1648.

**H**AVING already made My protestations not onely against the illegalitie of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthlie Power can justly call Mee (who am 'your K I N G) in question as a Delinquent; I would not anie more open My mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the dutie I ow to God, in the preservation of the true libertie of My People, will not suffer Mee at this time to bee silent: For how can anie free-born Subject of England call Life, or anie thing hee possesseth his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to bee the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Mee concerning these grounds which hinder Mee to Answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can saie will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judg Mee, nor indeed the meanest man in England; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

\* There is no proceeding just against anie man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Countrie where hee live's.

\* Hereabout I was stoppt, and not suffered to speak anie more concerning Reasons.

R

Now



Now I am most confident, that this daie's proceeding cannot bee warranted by God's Law; for on the contrarye the autoritie of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am readie instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is Power; and who may saie unto him, what doest thou? Eccles. 8. 4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no less confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either bee old, or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what autoritie warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leav to God and the world to judg: And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without KING or Lords-House, to anie that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of England's Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this waie you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend anie color for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of everie man in England, of whatsoever qualitie or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING; but

also for the true Libertie of all My Subjects, which consist's not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this daies proceeding doth not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their Publick Faith that (I believ) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Mee, bear date long before this late Treatie at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Mee laie, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am com, I cannot but to my power defend the antient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; when for anie thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the Houf of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Mee to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reign's without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for manie hundred yeers? (nor will I saie that will fall out in case this lawless unjust proceeding against Mee do go on) and believ it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happie they have been of late years under the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, the KING My Father,

ther, and My self, untill the begining of these unhappie Troubles; and will have caus to doubt that they shall never bee so happie under anie new. And by this time it will bee too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the antient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Autoritie without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and libertie of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgment, shewing Mee that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will readily Answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

*This I intended to speak in Westminster-hall on Mondaie, 22 Januarie; but against reason was hindered to shew My Reasons.*



A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the  
PRINCE to the KING; Dated from  
the HAGUE, Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR!

**H**AVING no means to com to the knowledg of Your  
Majestie's present condition, but such as I receiv  
from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I  
have sent this Bearer Seamour to wait upon Your  
Majestie; and to bring Mee an account of it: that  
I may withal assure Your Majestie, I do not onely praie  
for Your Majestie, according to My Dutie; but shall  
alwaies bee readie to do all which shall bee in My power,  
to deserv that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your  
Majestie upon

SIR,

Hague, Jan. 23.  
1648.

Your MAJESTIE'S most humble  
and most obedient Son and  
Servant,

CHARLS.

The Supercription was thus,

[For the King.]

Mondaie the 29<sup>th</sup> of Januarie, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING's Speech to the Ladie  
Elisabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the daie before  
His death.

**H**IS Children beeing com to meet Him, Hee first gave  
His blessing to the Ladie Elisabeth; and bad her  
remember to tell her Brother James, when ever shee

R 3

should



should see him, That it was his Father's last desire, that hee should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but bee obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (said shee) I shall never forget it while I live: and, pouring forth abundance of tears, promised Him to write down the particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon His Knee, said, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Father's Head; (upon which words the Childe looked verie stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I saie, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I saie, You must not bee a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brother's Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not bee made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will bee torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the *King* rejoyce exceedingly.

*Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth's own Hand.*

**W**Hat the *King* said to Mee the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648. beeing the last time I had the happiness to see Him; Hee told mee, Hee was glad I was com, and although Hee had not time to saie much, yet somewhat Hee had to saie to Mee, which Hee had not to another, or leav in writing; becauf Hee feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to mee. Hee wished mee not to grieve and torment my self for Him; for that would bee a glorious death that Hee should die; it beeing for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. Hee bid mee read Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons,

Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politie*, and Bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground mee against Poperie. Hee told mee, Hee had forgiv'n all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of My Brothers and Sisters to forgive them. Hee bid mee tell my Mother, That His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should bee the same to the last. Withal, Hee commanded mee and my Brother to bee obedient to Her. And bid mee send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after Hee had giv'n Mee His Blessing, I took my leave.

Further, Hee commanded Us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and Hee feared also to their own souls: And desired mee not to grieve for Him, for Hee should die a *Martyr*, and that Hee doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that Wee should bee all happier, then Wee could have expected to have been, if Hee had lived: With manie other things, which at present I cannot remember.

*Elisabeth.*

*Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth.*

THE *King* said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that Hee would saie nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: Hee told him, that Hee heard the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if hee regarded the welfare of his Soul; for hee had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and Hee would provide for him.

An



## An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

**S**O fall's that statelie Cedar: while it stood,  
 That was the onely Glorie of the Wood:  
 Great CHARLS, Thou earthlie God, Celestial Man,  
 Whose life, like other's, though it were a Span;  
 Yet in that Span was comprehended more  
 Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.  
 Thy heav'nlie Virtues Angels should reherf;  
 It is a theme too high for humane Vers.  
 Hee that would know Thee right then, let him look  
 Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,  
 And read it or'e and or'e; which if hee do,  
 Hee'l finde thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too;  
 And sadly see our loss; and, though in vain,  
 With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.  
 Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Herf,  
 Though there were neither Monument nor Vers.  
 Thy Suff'rings and Thy Death let no man name;  
 It was Thy Glorie, but the Kingdom's Shame.

J. H.

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ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὡς Θεῶν, Πατρικῶν ἑ Νόμων, ὅχ' ἀειθ  
 Σκηπτεῖχαν ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἀλγίστων χερσὶν ἐπισπέν.

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# APOPHTHEGMATA

*Aurea, Regia,*  
*CAROLINA.*

## APOPHTHEGMS

- |      |   |              |
|------|---|--------------|
| I.   | } | Theological. |
| II.  |   | Moral.       |
| III. |   | Political.   |

Collected out of the Incomparable

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

OF

His most glorious Majestie  
King CHARLS the *First*.

*Vincit qui patitur.*

*Fortior est qui se quàm qui fortissima—*

Ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται. Hebr. 11. 4.

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## *Apophthegmata Carolina.*

### I. THEOLOGICAL.



When our sins are ripe, it is just with God to reap that Glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Prosperitie. *pag. 3. line 20.*

Bare Resolutions of future reforming do not alwaies satisfie God's justice, nor prevent vengeance for former miscarriages. *p. 3. l. 25.*

Wee ought to depend on God's Mercies to forgive, not on our purposes to amend. *p. 3. 30.*

God vindicate's his Glorie by his Judgments; and shew's us how unsafe it is to offend him, upon presumptions afterwards to pleas him. *p. 4. 1.*

For want of timely repentance of our sins, God giveth us cause to repent of those remedies we too late applie. *p. 4. 7.*

Miseries upon persons or Nations are the just effects of God's displeasure: and yet may bee, through God's Mercie, preparatives to future blessings, and better hearts to enioie them. *p. 4. 13.*

Then shall wee dare to account our afflictions not the

the strokes of an enemy, but a father, when God giveth us those humble affections, and that measure of patience, which becom's his children. *pag. 4. li. 21.*

God's Grace is infinitely better with our Sufferings, then our Peace could bee with our sins. *p. 4. 29.*

As our sins turn Antidotes into poison, so God's Grace turn's poison into Antidotes. *p. 5. 4.*

No man, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by Acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate, or compensate, is worthie to bear the name and place of G O D on earth. *p. 6. 26.*

It is a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience thereby to salve State-fores: to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom. *p. 6. 30.*

An upright Magistrate is more afraid to take away anie man's life unjustly, then to lose his own. *p. 9. 16.*

Justice, which is the will of God, ought to bee preferred before all contrarie Clamors, which are but the discoveries of men's injurious wills. *p. 10. 14.*

A Prince ought not for anie reason of State, to go against the reason of his Conscience: which is highly to sin against the God of Reason, and Judge of Conscience. *p. 10. 19.*

The Spirit of God subject's the Will of a Prince to none but the light of Reason, Justice and Religion, which shine's in his Soul. *p. 10. 24.*

No present importunitie, or popular vindications will bee snbterfuge sufficient to rescue men guiltie of evil machinations from the exact tribunals of God and their consciences. *p. 13. 10.*

In obstructions of Justice among men, wee must religiously appeal to God and men's own Consciences, as beeing an argument to us Christians of that unavoidable judgment which shall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided or not at all. *p. 13. 14.*

*Affliction*

God Afflictions cannot bee esteemed (with wise and godly men) anie argument of sin in an innocent person, more then the Impunitie of wicked men is, among good men, anie sure token of their innocencie. *pag. 14 li. 11.*

As it is one of the most convinceing arguments that there is a God, while his power sett's bounds to the raging of the Sea : so 'tis no less, that Hee restrains the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation then when hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority. *p. 15. 5.*

Good men had rather want anie thing they most desire, for the publick good, then obtain it by unlawful and irreligious means. *p. 16. 29.*

The just Avenger of all disorders often make's men see their sin in the glass of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-lay, that guiltie men may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended. *p. 20. 6.*

God order's our disorders : and magnifie's his wisdom and mercie, when our follies and miseries are most discovered. *p. 21. 4.*

Our sins are the Tumults of our Souls against our God. *p. 21. 14.*

What man cannot, or will not repress, the Omnipotent Justice can and will. *p. 21. 30.*

Reason sett's bounds to our Passions, Truth to Errors, Laws duly executed to Sedition, Charitie to Schisms. *p. 22. 6.*

A man that know's the sinceritie and uprightness of his own heart, although hee may seem less a Politician to men, yet hee need's no secret distinctions or evasions before God. *p. 26. 20.*

As manie Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the Glorie of them (if they could bee at once joined) are not worth the gaining by the waies of sin-  
ful



ful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a Soul worth more worlds, then this hath kingdoms. p. 26.31.

God's All-discerning Justice see's through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts. pag. 27. line 18.

Grace will teach us wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of our best hopes, and most specious desires. p. 27.28.

The Comfort of God's Mercies often raiseth the greatest Sufferers to bee the most glorious Saints. p. 28. li. 29.

I will rather chuse to wear a crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie dictates of anie factions. p. 33.20.

I know no Resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdoms. p. 33.29.

It is God's will that wee should maintein our Native, Rational and Religious freedom. p. 34.2.

Though God doth require us to submit our understandings and wills to his, whose wisdom and goodness can neither err, nor misguide us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to his sacred mysteries and commands, that wee should believ and obeie, rather then dispute them: yet doth hee expect from us onely such a reasonable service of him, as not to do anie thing for him against our consciences. p. 34.3.

A good Christian ought to bee willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries, rather then commit the least sin against his conscience. p. 34.31.

A Christian King ought not to subject his Reason to other mens Passions and designs, which seem unreasonable, unjust and irreligious. So shall hee serv God in truth and uprightness of heart, though hee cannot satisfie *sem men.* p. 35.7.

Truth

Truth and Justice will bring a man at last to peace and happiness with God, though hee hath much trouble among men. *pag. 35. line. 15.*

The scandal of Subjects, who profess the same Religion with their Sovereign, may bee an hindrance to the love of Truth, and hardning others in Error. *p. 39. 14.*

Constancie in Religion the best Antidote against the poison of ill example. *p. 39. 19.*

The experience of the vanitie and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie and Greatness should make us the more ambitious to bee invested in those durable Honors and perfections, which are onely to bee found in GOD, and obtained through JESUS CHRIST. *p. 40. 5.*

I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian then a King: for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the Charitie of the other is willing to bear: what the hight of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive; keeping in compass all those impotent Passions, whose excess injure's a man more then his greatest enemies can. For these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwise cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt. *p. 41. 23.*

No punishment so stain's a man's honor as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's with most indelible characters of infamie the name and memorie to Posteritie; who, not engaged in the factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions. *p. 44. 15.*

My outward strength, God know's, is little, or none at all: but I have a soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give mee such a measure of constancie, as to fear Him more than Man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie. *p. 46. 17.*

The least sin hath in it more evil, then the greatest affliction. pag 51. line 17.

What I think Religious and Apostolical, and so verie sacred and divine, is not to bee dispensed with, or destroyed. p. 52. 6.

Praiers and Tears the chiefeft Arms, which the Antient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, may serv a good man's turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr. p. 58. 10.

The manie and sore oppressions of My people grieve Mee: I am above Mine own: what I want in the hands of force and power, I have in the wings of faith and praier. p. 58. 28.

The *Sword* and *Militia* are but weak defenses against the strokes of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake; or of men's own consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations. p. 62. 24.

I do not think I can want any thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to take from Mee, in order to My people's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whose protection is sufficient for Mee; and Hee is able by His being with Mee, abundantly to compensate to Mee as Hee did to *Job*, whatever Honor, Power, or Libertie, the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive Mee of. p. 62. 28.

Though Men take all temporarie defenses from Mee; yet cannot they deprive Mee of my own innocencie, or God's mercie; nor obstruct My waie to heaven. p. 63. 11.

When I have declared that I cannot yield to some things propounded, without violatting My conscience, 'tis strange there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon my Soul. p. 65. 17.

Nothing can repair or requite the loss of the incommunicable jewel of a good conscience. p. 65. 28.

The love of My people's peace hath great influence upon Mee; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more. p. 66. 9.  
The

The inward quiet of My Conscience ought to bee, is, and ever shall bee (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms. pag. 66. line 15.

In want of free and faithful counsel, which others are able and willing to impart, none can hinder us from craving of the Counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline our hearts stedfastly to follow it. p. 75. 15.

I cannot pleas all, I care not to pleas **SOM MEN**: if I may bee happie to pleas God, I need not fear whom I displeas. p. 76. 21.

God can as well bleas honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels. p. 77. 15.

Though pressures are grievous, and peace verie pleasing; yet wee ought not to avoid the one, or purchase the other with the least expens or waste of Conscience, whereof God onely is deservedly more master then our selvs. p. 77. 24.

**SOM MEN**, out of a covetous Zeal, and uncharitable furie, think it a great Argument of the Truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own. p. 80. 18.

Som kinde of Zeal count's all merciful moderation lukewarmness; and had rather bee cruel then counted cold; and is not seldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm hee hath don. p. 82. 16.

God doth not therefore denie our innocence, becaus Hee is so far to trie our patience, as hee did his Servant *Job's*. p. 83. 28.

Hee that look's well to his own Conscience and the faithful discharge of his Trust, hath scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of **SOM MEN's** mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do out of a fornace, much less to make prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction, who conscious to their own depth of wickedness are loath



loath to believ any man not to bee as bad themselves.

pag. 83. line 31. &c. —

Crueltie among Christians acted under the Color of Religion, as if wee could not bee Christians unless wee crucifie one another, an horrid sin.

p. 85. 5.

It is not so proper to hew out religious Reformati-  
ons by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal  
disputations among those that are most concerned in  
the differences : whom not Force, but Reason ought to  
convince.

p. 89. 10.

Conscience can receiv little satisfaction in those  
points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fight-  
ing in the fields, then Scholars disputing in free and  
learned Synods.

p. 89. 24.

In matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on  
men's judgments and consciences, which are least ur-  
ged with secular violence, which weaken's Truth with  
prejudices : and is unreasonable to bee used, till such  
means of rational conviction have been applied, as, lea-  
ving no excuse for ignorance condemn's men's obstina-  
cie to deserved penalties.

p. 89. 29.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie bee an institution  
of Christ, sure it differ's from all others : and is the  
first and onely point of Christianitie, that was to bee  
planted and watered with so much Christian blood ;  
whose effusion run's in a stream so contrarie to that of  
the Primitive Planters both of Christianitie and Epif-  
copacie, which was with patient shedding of their  
own blood, not violent drawing other men's. Sure  
there is too much of man in it to have much of  
Christ.

p. 90. 29.

Wise and Learned men think, that nothing hath  
more marks of Schism and Sectarism then this Presby-  
terian waie of Government.

p. 91. 26.

The Repealing of Church-Laws and Constitutions  
ought to bee grounded upon, more Rational and Reli-  
gious

gious Motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their knapsacks. *pag.92.line 1.*

I esteem the Church above the State; the Glorie of Christ above Mine own; and the Salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates. *p.92.13.*

Violent motions, w<sup>ch</sup> are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loial, ought not to shake or unsettle the Religion of any man, who know's what Religion mean's. *p.92.23.*

The proper engine of all Faction is Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and Loial Subjects, in matters of Religion. *p.92.27.*

Men prone to have High conceits of themselves care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions. *p.93.1.*

God's justice and Man's tollie will at length bee discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs. *94.11.*

The less caus wee have to trust to men, the more wee have to trust to God. *p.94.30.*

Pious simplicitie is the best policie. *p.95.3.*

In things which are of no cleer moral necessitie, but disputable and controverted among learned and godly men, Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoin'd with that judgment and certaintie in ones self, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as Religion require's. *p.97.6.*

Religion never refuse's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too in matters onely probable. *p.97.13.*

The enjoining of Oaths upon people, must needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as in things unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessarie duties. *p.97.16.*

None, that have once true touches of Conscience, will

will endeavor to carrie on the best designs (much less such as are apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means. pag.98.line 21.

Wee ought not to prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized Novelties before known and sworn duties, which are indispensible both to God and the Prince. p.98.25.

Later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former gravings and characters which by just and lawful Ooaths were made upon their Souls. p.98.31.

Confederations, by waie of solemn Leagues and Covenants, are the more to bee suspected, becauf they are the common road used in all factions and powerful perturbations of State and Church. p.99.4.

Formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more studied and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled or sacred in Religion or Laws, p.99.8.

Every man soon grow's his own Pope, and easily absolv's himself of those ties which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtiltie or terror of a Partie cast's upon him. p.99.li. 21.

No man's Lawful Calling can engage him against the Church, the Prince, or the Publick peace. p.101.15.

A pious Prince ought to bee forward to carrie on all due Reformatiions, with mature judgment, and a good conscience, in what things hee shall, after impartial advice, bee, by God's Word, and right reason, convinced to bee amifs. p.102.1.

Bishops and Church-men, with their Lands and Revenues, as the fattest Deer, must bee destroyed; the other Rascal-Herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. beeing lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration. p. 102.14.

I see, while the breath of Religion fill's the sails, Profit is the Compass, by which factious men steer their

their courf in all feditious commotions. pag. 102. lin. 19.

Pharaoh's Divinitie, and *Joseph's* true pietie abhorr'd  
to fell the Priest's Lands. p. 103. lin. 6.

I esteem it My greateft Title to bee called, and My  
chiefest Glorie to bee the *Defendor of the Church, both in*  
*its true Faith, and its juft Fruitions ; equally abhorring Sacri-*  
*lege and Apoftafie.* p. 103. 16.

I had rather live, as My Predecessor *Henrie the third*  
fometimes did, on the Church's Alms, then violently  
take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.  
p. 103. 21.

I think it no lefs then a mocking and tempting of  
God, to defire him to hinder thofe mischiefs, whose  
occasions and remedies are in our own powers: it beeing  
every man's fin not to avoid the one, and not to use  
the other. p. 104. 12.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the  
State, without the ruins of the Church. p. 104. 17.

No Pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are suf-  
ficient to abfolv Subjects from the obfervation of thofe  
juft, moral, and indifpenfable bonds, which God's  
Word, and the Laws of the Kingdom have laid upon  
their Confciencces, nor engage them to any contrarie  
practices. p. 104. 31.

Nothing violent and injurious can bee Religious.  
p. 105. 4.

God allow's no man's committing Sacrilege under  
the zeal of abhorring idols. p. 105. 6.

Sacrilegious designs ought not to have the counte-  
nance of Religious Ties. p. 105. 8.

It is hard for a man, that hath not innocencie and  
God's protection, to ftand out againft thofe stratagems  
and conflicts of malice, which by falſities ſeek to oppreſs  
the Truth, and by jealousies to ſupplie the defect of  
Real cauſes. p. 106. 29.

Popular Preachers think it no fin to lie for God, and  
What



what they pleas to call God's caus. pag. 111. line 27.

Differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of dutie, allegiance, and subjection, p. 113. 7.

Different professions in point of Religion cannot take away the communitie of Relations either to parents, or to Princes. p. 113. 12.

A truly-humble Christian will so highly prize his persecutions, as rather not to bee relieved, then bee revenged, so as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attend's humble and injured Sufferers. p. 115. 19.

A crown of Christian Patience attend's humble and injured Sufferers. p. 115. 22.

God is the onely King of men's Consciences. 117. 6.

It is no newes to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation. p. 121. 5.

Praier and devotion is the Souls more immediate convers with the Divine majestie. p. 121. 16.

The Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*: and this by all reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox. p. 122. 11.

Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulness of a wel-composed Liturgie. p. 122. 24.

In the use of constant forms, not the words but men's hearts are too blame. p. 123. 23.

A man may bee verie formal in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently-devout in the most wonted expressions. p. 123. 26.

Constant Forms of Praier are not more likely to flat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and devotion, then unpremeditated and confused varietie to distract and lose it. p. 123. 30.

It is impossible for a Prince to preserv the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an influence upon Churchmen,

men and they such a dependence on Him, as may best  
restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Minister's  
tongues; who, with the keies of heaven, have so far the  
keies of the people's hearts, as they prevail much by  
their Oratorie to let in, or shut out both Peace and  
Loialtie.

pag. 129. line 24.

I never thought anie Bishop worthie to sit in the  
Hous of Peers, who would not vote according to his  
Conscience.

p. 130. 11.

The Government of the Church by Bishops hath of  
all other the fullest Scripture-Grounds, and also the  
constant practice of all Christian Churches.

p. 130. 17.

The want of Government the Church can no more  
dispens with, in point of well-beeing, then the want of  
the Word and Sacraments in point of beeing.

131. 20.

Proud usurpers against true Episcopacie by Popular  
heaps of weak, light and unlearned Teachers seek to  
over-laie and smother the pregnancie and autoritie of  
that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond  
all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most  
convinceingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all af-  
ter-Histories of the Church.

p. 133. 21.

In Religion, Scripture is the best Rule, and the  
Churches universal Practice the best Commentarie.

p. 134. 11.

Not onely in Religion, but also in right Reason  
and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee  
thought that an Orderlie Subordination among Pres-  
byters and Ministers should bee any more against Chri-  
stianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Govern-  
ments, where

p. 134. 13.

Paritie breed's Confusion and Faction.

p. 134. 18.

Good Order is no more inconsistent with true Re-  
ligion, then good features are with beautie, or num-  
bers with harmonie.

p. 134. 20.

Ministers have as much of the principles of  
Schism

Schism and division, as other men. pag.134.line 26.

It was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles that first settled Bishops in the Church. p.135.4.

Tyrannie becom's no Christians, lest of all Church-men. p.135.16.

The whole stream of examples and practice of the Church, or Testimonies of Histories run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for anie other. p.136.10.

The necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth then commendeth som late Reformed Churches for their incomformitie to all Antiquitie. p.136.15.

It is no point of wisdom nor Charitie, where Christians differ, to widen the differences. p.136.28.

The Desertors of Episcopacie will appear the greatest enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest pag.138.l.9.

Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to; and crowned with Episcopacie. p.138.l.11.

All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriveing, between the favor of the people and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, and by the sweet and liberal dewes of heaven. p.138.13.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men wil soon let them see what a poor carcass they are, when parted from the influence of that head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn. p.138.18.

S O M M E N's zeal for Bishop's Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacie: which is no less sin then sacrilege or robbetrie of God of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets. p.141.8.

The abuses of Episcopacie deserv to bee extirpated

pated, as much the use retained. pag. 144. line 17.

The Revenues of the Church becom the object of secular envie, which seek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion. p. 145.9.

I would rather with *Constantine* cover the errors of the fathers of the Church with silence, and reform with meekness then expose their Persons and sacred Functions to vulgar contempt. p. 146.4.

The Counsels of unreasonable men have brought forth and continue violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of the Church's peace; thereby letting in all manner of Errors, Schism and disorders. p. 146.11.

Our Sins somtimes prevail against the justice of our Caus. p. 152.20.

Personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every Gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert, in the way of War, a righteous Caus. The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own Glorie. p. 152.28.

The event or success can never state the justice of anie Caus, nor the peace of men's Consciences, nor the eternal welfare of their Souls. p. 153.5.

A Godlie Prince desire's that all his Subjects may join true Pietie with the sens of their Loialtie: and bee as faithful to God and their own souls, as they are to their Prince: that the defects of the one may not blast the endeavors of the other. 155..27.

Different events are but the Methods of Divine justice by contrarie windes to winnow us: that, by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and deserving peace hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing. p. 156.31.

The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such,



as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to bee quiet: wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroye one another.  
p. 157.23.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins un-subdued; flushing our pride, and animateing to continue injuries.  
p. 157.30.

God, sometimes, for the sins of our Peace brings upon us the miseries of War; and for the sins of War denies us the blessing of Peace.  
p. 159.16.

The good Laws established, and the Religion settled ought to bee the first Rule and standard of Reforming.  
p. 160.18.

Where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and universal practice of the Church in things not contrarie to Reason Faith, good manners, or anie positive command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.  
p. 162.16.

The specious and popular Title of Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have at least,) also the noise of a thorough-Reformation, these may as easily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favored figures.  
p. 163.7.

Publick Reformers had need first act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others: for Deformities within will soon betraye the Pretenders of Publick Reformations to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.  
p. 165.8.

The right method of reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State: nor can Religion bee justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is one of the chiefeest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion: for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.  
p. 165.14.  
Christ?

Chsist's Kingdom may bee set up without pulling down the temporal Kingdom of Princes; nor will anie men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselvs good Subjects. *pag. 165. line 20.*

Christ's Government confirm's the Kings, doth not overthrow it. *p. 165. 24.*

Christian Patience know's how to serv God in Honor and dishonor, in good report, or evil. *p. 172. 28.*

God is a Christian's chiefeft Guard: and his Conscience both his Counsellor and Comforter. *p. 174. 8.*

The integritie of Conscience is the onely jewel worth keeping. *p. 175. 28.*

A man lose's himself, while hee let's out his hopes to others. *p. 177. 20.*

I care not much to bee reckoned among the UNFORTUNATE, if I bee not in the *Black List* of IRRELIGIOUS and SACRILEGIOUS PRINCES. *p. 177. 28.*

The Golden Rule and bond of perfection in Praier, and other holie duties consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie. *p. 183. 17.*

I hold it beeter to seem undevout, and to hear no men's praiers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.. *p. 184. 15.*

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sens: but such an humble and judicious gravity, as shew's the speaker to bee at once considerate of God's Majestie, the Church's Honor, and his own wileness; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercie for himself, or others. *p. 184. 21.*

I am equally scandalized with all praiers that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either

wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or respect to the dutie. pag. 184. line 29.

The light of understanding and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant and occasional, solitarie and social devotions. p. 185. 14.

I had rather bee condemned to the wo of *Væ soli*, then to that of *Væ vobis hypocritæ*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve. p. 186. 3.

It is infinitely more glorious to convert souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword. p. 186. 23.

Confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every man's turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State where every one affect's to rule as King. p. 187. 25.

In the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie supplies of his gifts and graces. p. 188. 28.

Former sins may bee seen in the glass of the present terrors and distractions. p. 198. 20.

See the hand of Divine Justice: they, that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastned by their own Armie for new Tumults. 198. 22.

Hardly can men bee content with one sin, but add sin to sin, till the later punish the former. p. 198. 26.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands. p. 199. 30.

Fatal blindness frequently attend's and punish's wilful. p. 200. 17.

Men shal not bee able at last to prevent their sorrows, who would not timely repent of their sins. p. 200. 18.

God's constancie is seen in the wold's varietie and changes. p. 202. 6.

They cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they bee long undisarmed, and undestroyed, who with an high hand persist to fight against God, and the

dear convictions of their own consciences. p.202.21.

God can and will exalt and perfect a true Christian by his sufferings, which have more in them of God's Mercie, then of man's crueltie, or his Justice. p.203.14.

Pietie will make a Prince prosperous : at least it will keep him from being miserable : nor is hee much a loser, who loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last. 206.2.

The cup of afflictions wee must look upon as Gods physick, having that in healthfulness which it want's in pleasure. p.206.12.

A Prince ought to bee well grounded and settled in Religion, that it may bee judiciously his own, and not other men's custom or tradition which hee professes. p.206.1.22.

The fixation of the Prince, in matters of Religion, will not bee more necessarie for his Soul's then his Kingdom's peace. p.206.39.

The Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation. p.207.1.

Unless a Prince bee settled in Religion, hee shall never want temptations to destroye Him and His, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion. p.207.9.

Religion seem's even to the worst of men as the best & most auspicious beginning of their worst designs. 207.12.

Everie one hath affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought zealous hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severitie of censuring other men's opinions or actions. p.207.16.

A Prince must take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is, in His judgment and the Church's, well settled. p.207.22.

The King's partial adhering, as Head, to anie one side, gain's Him not so great advantages in some men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion)



as it loseth him in others, who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by Him, p. 207. 25.

Nothing ought to seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Church's peace, so as to neglect a speedie Reforming and effectual suppressing errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as an hand-breadth, by Seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven. pag. 209. line 5.

A true Christian is not much solicitous what wrong hee suffer's from men, while hee retein's in his soul what hee believ's is right before God. p. 210. 29.

A Prince ought alwaies to keep up solid Pietie, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial favor and Justice. p. 212. 10.

A Prince ought to take heed that Outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industrie, and pietie. p. 212. 13.

As the Wolf is not less cruel, so hee will bee more justly hated, when hee shall appear no better then a wolf under sheep's-cloathing. p. 213. 9.

A Power to forgive My enemies is a greater Argument of God's love to Mee, then anie prosperitie can bee. p. 214. 25.

The true Religion established in the Church of England is the best in the world, not onely in the Communitie as Christians; but also in the special notion, as Reformed: keeping the middle waie between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meannesse of fantastick Anarchie. p. 216. 12.

The Protestant-Religion established in England, neither give's such Rules, nor ever before set such examples, as the late War against the Church, the Laws, and the Prince. p. 217. 4.

Counterfeit

Counterfeit and disorderlie Zeal ought not to abate our value and esteem of true Pietie, both of them are known by their fruits: the sweetness of the vine and figtree is not to bee despised, though the brambles and thorns should pretend to bear figgs and grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees. p.217.10.

God sometimes punishes a people with continuance in their sin, and suffer's them to bee deluded with the prosperitie of their wickedness. p.218.11.

Keep You to true Principles of Pietie, Virtue, and Honor; You shall never want a Kingdom. p.218.19.

My Conscience, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thousand Kingdoms. p.221.3.

In Prosperitie wee should not bee wholly strangers to the contemplations of Mortalitie: those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an Eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudie daies. p.222.3.

It is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to die daily, in conquering, by a lively faith, and patient hope of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us as it were by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates. p.223.4.

A Christian ought not to think that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's him anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cause, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improovment of our deaths. p.223.29

In point of true Christian valor, it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that Heroick greatness of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while wee are in this bodie; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperitie move's

higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven. p. 224.4.

The assaults of Affliction may bee terrible, like *Sampsons* Lion, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to over-live the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God. p. 224.14.

Our greatest conquest of death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Ascension. p. 227.29.

Charitie is the noblest Revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroyers. p. 228.7.

As the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities: so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes. p. 228.20.

God's Mercie will more then infinitely recompens what ever by man's injustice Hee is pleased to deprive us off. p. 229.7.

God's righteous judgment will confute their fallacie, who from worldlie success (rather like Sophisters then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of their actions. p. 230.29.

God's wise providence oft permit's manie events, which His revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed rule of good Actions and good Consciences) in no sort approv's. p. 231.2.

I shall bee more then Conqueror through Christ's enabling Mee; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion. p. 232.10.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt

debt of death, which I ow for sin to nature, shall bee raised as a gift of faith & patience offered to God. p. 232. 15.

The trophies of My Charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee. p. 232. 28.

I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King as far less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject. p. 233. 5.

It is better for us to bee dead to our selvs, and live in God; then by living in our selvs to bee deprived of God. p. 234. 1.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the Grace of God alone, who is Almighty, and Immortal. p. 234. 11.

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## *Apophthegmata Carolina.*

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### II. MORAL.

IT is no strange thing for men, left to their own Passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease. p. 27. 7.

Unjust hatred and jealousies are able to pervert Acts of greatest Indulgence. p. 28. 11.

Manie men are seldom of one minde: and oftentimes the major part are not in the right. p. 29. 29.

Sure it cease's to bee Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but Force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. Hee deserv's to bee a slave without pitie, or redemption, that is content to have the rational Soveraigntie of his soul, and libertie of his will and words so captivated. p. 30. 11.

I do not think My Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserv



preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becaus it belong's to Mee. as a man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obligeing Mee to consent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which Subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King if it should carrie such a vassalagewith it, as not to suffer Mee to use My reason & Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike. p.30. 18.

I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion bid's Mee denie. p.31. 16.

Error and Passion is a shadow of Reason, and must serv those that are destitute of the Substance. p.32.9.

Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavour's to see the best reason of things and faithfully follow's what hee take's for reason: the uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failing of his understanding: If a Pilot at sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his courf by such stars as do best appear to him. It argue's rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels and proposals. p.32. 10.

I can bee content to recede much from My own Intrests, and Personal Rights, of which I conceiv My self to bee Master: But in what concern's truth, justice, the rights of the Church and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preserv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fix't and resolute, nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My heart give's My tongue or hand the lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm

affirm that to men, which in My conscience I denie before God. pag.33.8.

The merits of a deserving Ladie would serv her for a protection among the savage Indians : while their rudeness and barbaritie know's not so perfectly to hate all virtues , as S O M M E N's subtiltie doth. p.36.20.

This comfort I shal enjoie by the safetie of My Queen in the midst of My personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved. p.37.1.

Common Civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loialtie. p.37.14.

It cannot bee safe for anie Relation to a King to tarry among them, who are shakeing hands with their Allegiance, under pretens of laying faster hold on their Religion. p.37.15.

Such is the rudeness of S O M M E N towards their Superiors, that they make up their want of justice with inhumanitie and impudence. p.37.20.

Afflictions make virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights. p.37.23.

A True wife love's her husband, not his fortunes; & bear's a sympathie w<sup>th</sup> him in his Afflictions. p.37.23.

Such is the ingratitude of S O M M E N, that they scornfully lift up themselves against those, of whose bread they have eaten, and been enriched with their bountie. p.38.2.

S O M think to fatisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion : and can less endure to see, then to sin against their Benefactors as well as their Sovereigns. p.38.6.

It was a policie necessarie to *some men's* designs to drive the Queen out of the Kingdom, lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love, as a Wife, and Loyaltie as a Subject, Shee should have converted to, or reteined in their love and Loialtie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert. p.38.13.

It

It is the most glorious victorie, when no disdain nor emotion of passion transport's us by the indignitie of ill carriage, to do or saie anie thing unbeseeming our selvs, or unsuteable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, best becom's a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ. pag. 41. line 17.

Clemencie is a debt, which wee ought to paie to those that crave it, when wee have caus to believ they would not after abuse it: since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for his Mercie but onely praiers and praises. p. 43. 31.

They confess their known weakness, as to Truth and Justice, who choos rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments. p. 46. 27.

To binde a man's self to a general and implicit consent to whatever shal bee desired or propounded, were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie freeman: not fit to bee required of anie man, much less of a King by his own subjects. p. 66. 23.

The goodness of men's intentions will not excuse the scandal and contagion of their examples. p. 79. 5.

Som kinde of Zeal count's all merciful moderation Lukewarmness: and had rather bee cruel then counted cold; and is not seldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin then for anie harm hee hath don. The confiscation of men's estates beeing more beneficial then the charitie of saving their souls, or reforming their Errors. p. 82. 16.

Misconstructions of Actions are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what it fals and evil, then love and charitie to what is true and good. p. 83. 23.

Hee that is conscious to his own depth of wickedness, is loth to believ anie man not to bee so bad as himself. p. 84. 7.

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill. If I can but aet the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other. Roial  
p. 84. 10.

Royal bountie embolden's *ſom Men* to ask and act beyond all bounds of modeſtie and gratitude. p.87.23.

I thank God, I never found but My pitie<sup>r</sup> was above My Anger. p.108.1.

Between the malice of My enemies, and other men's miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the itch of Novelty, and the leproſie of diſſolaltie. p.110.2.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malitious perſons good inventions. p.110.7.

My patience will better ſerv Mee to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leiſure to answer the manie falſ aſperſions which *ſom men* have caſt upon Mee. p.110.12.

Libertie, in the Popular ſenſ, is to do what everie man liketh beſt. p.115.26.

I wiſh repentance may bee the onely puniſhment of evil-doers. p.127.29.

God's Mercies are full of varietie, and yet of conſtancie. p.128.7.

Gods ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, that hee is neither to bee pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter, or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancie of our Petitions in them both. p.128.16.

That Conſtancie is the Cauſ of formalitie, *iſ a fallacie*. p.129.3.

A little immoderation may prevent great miſchiefs. p.138.22.

Pride attend's proſperous, and repineings follow diſaſtrous events. p.158.22.

'Tis a pious ambition to overcome each other with Reason, Moderation, and ſelf-denial. p.159.11.

Monuments and Inſcriptions of the dead ſerv but to put poſteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live. p.163.17.

The greateſt experiments of Virtue and Nobleneſſ are



are discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy : and the greatest obligations are those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them. p. 167.15.

The freedom and secrecie of private papers command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous : nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expose them to publick view. p. 167.22.

Secret impressions of shame and dishonor attend all unworthie actions, have they never so much of publick flatterie, and Popular countenance. p. 171.3.

God blest the modest respect and filial tenderneſs which *Noahs* sons bare to their father : nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Cham's* impudencie, nor exempt him from that curſe of beeing servant of servants ; which curſe muſt needs bee on them, who ſeek, by dishonorable actions, to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People. p. 171.10.

Reason is the divineſt Power ; I ſhall never think My ſelf weak'ned, while I may make full and free uſe of that ; No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob Mee of that light: what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his Grace, I hope, will ſupplie with inward Reſolutions, not moroſely to denie what is fit to bee granted ; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie. p. 175.19.

No reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soul in ſin ; nor gain that of Mee, which may make My enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed, or My Name accuſed. p. 177.31.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their Power, ſince My Soul is ſtill Mine own : Nor ſhall they ever gain My conſent againſt My Conſcience. p. 178.3.

What they call Obſtinacie, I know God account's honeſt Conſtancie. p. 178.7.

Should

Should I grant what *ſom men* deſire I ſhould bee ſuch as they wiſh Mee : not more a King , and far leſſ both Man and Chriſtian. *pag. 178.lin.16.*

The fear of men ſhall never bee my ſnare : nor ſhall the love of anie Libertie entangle My ſoul : better others betraie Mee then My ſelf; and that the price of My Libertie ſhould bee My Conſcience : the greateſt injuries My enemies ſeek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own conſent. *p. 178.23.*

Neither libertie nor life are ſo dear to Mee as the Peace of My Conſcience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My people; which My word may injure more then anie war can do, while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all. *p. 179.6.*

Companie obtruded is more ſad then anie ſolitude can bee. *p. 182.1.*

Though the juſtice of the Law deprive's Priſoners and Malefactors of worldlie comforts : yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at onceto deſtroie their bodies, and to damn their ſouls. *p. 182.12.*

My Agonie muſt not bee relieved with the preſence of anie one good Angel; for ſuch I account a learned, godlie and diſcreet Divine. *p. 182.17.*

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I ſhould bee a Chriſtian : while they ſeek to deprive Mee of all things elſ, they are affraid I ſhould ſave My ſoul. *p. 182.21.*

Som remedies are worſ then the diſeaſ : and ſom comforters more miſerable then miſerie it ſelf. *p. 183.20.*

Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming inſolent enemies. *p. 200.23.*

There is nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde. *p. 200.24.*

Plentie is prone to add fewel to the luxuries of populous Citties : their wealth to make them wanton; their

their multitudes tempting them to securitie : and  
their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.  
*p.202.12.*

The most, though they bee not good themselvs, yet  
are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at anie time  
sweetned by temporal rewards. *p.212.21.*

As the qualitie of a Prince sett's him beyond anie  
Duel with anie Subject: so the nobleness of his minde  
must raif him above the meditateing anie Revenge, or  
executing His anger upon the *MANIE.* *p.215.7.*

More inward complacencie to a Prince in pardon-  
ing one, then in punishing a thousand. *p.215.15.*





## *Apophthegmata Carolina.*

### III. POLITICAL.

**T**he right waie of Parliaments is most safe  
for the Crown as best pleasing to the peo-  
ple. *pag. 1. line 12.*

A good Prince ought to resolv to give  
all just satisfaction to modest and sober  
desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church  
and State. *p. 1. l. 18.* and by the weight of reason coun-  
terpoize the over-balancings of Factions. *p. 1. 26.*

His own, and His Children's Interests are obligati-  
ons to a Prince to seek and preserv the love and welfare  
of his Subjects. *p. 2. 12.*

The onely temporal blessing that is left to the am-  
bition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and  
safetie, next God's protection, is to seek and preserv  
the love and welfare of their Subjects. *p. 2. 15.*

Princes can bee no losers by lessening themselvs in  
some things of their just Prerogative, if they may but  
gain a recompens in their Subject's affections. *p. 2. 18.*

Rigor or remissness of Ministers in Church and  
State, contract upon Government odium and offences.  
*p. 2. 26.*



It concern's Princes both in Pietie and Policie to see Religion settled and preserved in Truth, Unitie and Order, as knowing, that no flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretenses to bee the ground of Factions. *pag. 3. line 2.*

Great abilities in a Minister of State may make a Prince rather afraid then ashamed to emploie him in the greatest affairs. *p. 5. 17.*

Great abilities are prone to create, in a Minister of State, great confidence of undertakings : and great employments are like enough to betray him to great errors and manie enemies. *p. 5. 20.*

States-men, who move in an high sphere and with a vigorous lustre, must needs (as the Sun) raise manie envious exhalations, which, condensed by a popular *Odium*, are capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie. *p. 5. 24.*

The importunitie of Som people may sometimes necessitate a Prince, though unsatisfied in his own conscience, to chuse rather what is *safe* then what seem's *just* : and to prefer the outward peace of his Kingdoms with men before that inward exactness of Conscience with God. *p. 6. 10.*

*Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased,* is a fallacious Maxim. *p. 7. 5.*

The best rule of Policie is to prefer the doing of justice before all enjoyments : and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms. *p. 7. 30.*

Strong probabilities are sufficient to raise jealousies in anie Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace. *p. 11. 31.*

Popular tumults are not like a storm at Sea, (which yet want's not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the verie foundations of all, then which nothing in the world hath more of horror. *p. 14. 31.*

Nothing

Nothing is more to be feared and less to be used by wise men then tumultuarie confluxes of mean und rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect; then to dictate, at last to command and over-aw the Parliament. p.15.28.

The midwiferie of Tumults is used by those, who have a minde to bring ruin upon the Church and State. p.16.15.

Men's passions and God's directions seldom agree: violent designs and motions must have sutable engines: Such as too much attend their own endes, seldom confine themselves to God's means. Force must croud in what Reason will not lead. p.17.1.

As it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage when strong windes blow upon it: so neither for multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and pietie to set them on. p.17.13.

Such is the petulancie of *some men*, that they joy to see their betters out-raged and abused, knowing their onely securitie consist's in vulgar flatterie. p.17.26.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie for any man for Popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it an hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a sea: which to resist, at present, threaten's imminent danger; but to withdraw, give's it space to spend its furie, and gain's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly waie, then scuffle with an undisciplin'd rabble. p.18.25.

Some are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudeness and petulancie. p.19.29.

As swine are to gardens and orderly plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments; and Plebeian concourses to

publick Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions. p.20.22.

*Som men* occasion more work, then they finde to do, by undoing so much as they finde well don to their hands. Such is *Som men's* activitie, that they will needs make work rather then want it, and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing. p.22.31.

Good Subjects will never think it just or fit that their Sovereign's condition should bee worf by His bettering theirs. pag. 23. line 23.

The Common-wealth is kept in tune by preserving the Laws in their due execution and vigor: wherein the Princes interest lie's more then anie man's. p.23.30.

More then the Law give's, a just Prince desire's not to have; and less the meanest Subject should not. p.24.4.

I still counted My self undiminis'd by My largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people. p.24.12.

*Som men's* ambition will not give their fellow-subjects leav to enjoie what their Prince intend's for their good. p.24.22.

A Prince is easily perswaded, that hee cannot grant too much, or distrust too little to men, who beeing professedly his subjects, pretend singular pietie and religious strictness. p.25.2.

A Prince's suffering *som men* to go up to the pinnacle of the temple, is a temptation to them to cast him down headlong. p.26.24.

Better it is to bee forced to sea by a storm, though unprovided of tackling and victual, then venture splitting, or sinking on a Lee-shore. p.29.7.

Tumults resolv to take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leav their Governors the libertie of their reason and conscience to denie them anie thing. 29.12.

A Prince

A Prince is not bound further to agree with the Votes of his Council, then hee see's them agree with the will of God, with his just rights, as a King, and the general good of his People. *pag. 29. lin. 25.*

Though a Prince bee desirous to give all just content to his People, yet S O M M E N S hydropick insatiableness hath learned to thirst the more, by how much the more they drink: whom no fountain of roial bountie is able to overcome: so resolved they seem either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it. *p. 30. 5.*

As to the desires of men, God enjoineeth us to trie all things by the touchstone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our judgments approve. *p. 34. 11.*

The unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of S O M M E N S immoderate demands, ought not to betraye a resolved Prince to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make him strengthen them by his consent in those things which hee think's in his conscience to bee against the Glorie of God, the good of his subjects, and the discharge of his own dutie in Reason and Justice. *p. 34. 23.*

'Tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That *bab actions must alwaies bee seconded with wof*; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault; and hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault. *p. 41. 3.*

'Tis the best policie with patience to bear what wee cannot remedie. *p. 41. 15.*

Apostasie unto Loialtie *some men* count the most unpardonable sin. *p. 42. 23.*

Superstitious sourness in matters of Religion so darken's the judgment, that they cannot see anie thing of sin and Rebellion in those means they use with in-



tents to reform to their Models what they call Religion; who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and fervencie. p. 43.10.

Sir *John Hotbam* a notable monument of unprosperous disloialtie; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a subject towards his Sovereign carri's alwaies its own vengeance as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatal and implacable executioners of it, who were the first imploiers in the service. p. 44.5.

Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious King, but by My sufferings? p. 47.3.

It is a hard and disputable choif for a King that love's his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them. p. 47.5.

Miscarriages in Government may escape, rather through ill Counsel of *some men* driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the Publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie a Prince hath of himself either to injuriousness, or oppression. p. 47.14.

The hazards of war are equal; nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of persons. p. 47.26.

Unnatural motions seem to manie men rather the production of a surfet of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which calilie finde or make causes of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Justice, or Parliamentarie privilege. p. 48.5.

The sole exposing a man to the publick odium is enough to ruine anie man, before his caus bee heard or tried. p. 49.7.

The greatest guilt of those which were voted and demanded as delinquents was this, that they would not suffer themselves to bee over-aw'd with tumults and their

their patrons; nor compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men, who agitated innovations, and ruin both in Church and State.

p.49.22.

Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeth with the stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

p.59.20.

I desire not to bee safer, then I wish My People.

p.60.3.

They who are conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his flock.

p.60.10.

Factionous distractions must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government, which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eies to foresee; so, they will finde, it hath more mouths too, which must bee satisfied; and at best, hath rather a monstrositie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie; where counsel may bee in manie as the senses: but the Supreme Power can bee but in one as the Head.

p.61.17.

The Hearts of Subjects the greatest Treasure; and best Ammunition of a King.

p.63.10.

I cannot buy My peoples peace, and My own safetie at too dear a rate, save onely with the parting with My conscience and honor.

p.65.7.

Som things, which a King might approve, yet in honor and policie are at som time to bee denied to *som men*, lest hee should seem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

p.66.18.

No man seek's to limit and confine his King in reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in power and dominion.

p.68.1.

A just Prince ought not so much to look at number and power, as weigh Reason and Justice.

p.72.25.

Tumults are the Hounds that attend the crie, and hollaw of those Men, who hunt after factions and private designs, to the ruine of Church and State: pag. 72. 29.

Sudden and vast desires of change must bee imputed to those few, who armed themselvs with the manie-headed and manie-handed Tumults. p.74.16.

It is the resolution of a good Prince, that nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to contradict, or vanitie to shew his Negative power shall have anie Biass upon his judgment, to make him gratifie his will, by denying anie thing, which reason and conscience command's him not: Nor on the other side to consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion persuaide Him, to bee for God's glorie, the Church's good, His people's welfare, and His own peace. p.74.28.

A good Prince will studie to satisfie his People: but will never for fear or flatterie gratifie anie Faction how potent soever: for this were to nourish the diseas, and oppress the bodie. p.75.8.

The Interest of a Prince lie's as much in the common welfare of His Subjects, as *some men's* doth in their perturbations, who think they cannot do well but in evil times. p.79.25.

A pious Prince look's upon the effusion of his Subject's blood, as exhausted out of his own veins. p.84.22.

It cannot but seem either passion or some self-seeking, more then true zeal and pious discretion, for anie foreign State or Church to prescribe such medicines one-ly for others, which themselvs have used, rather successfully then commendably; not considering that the same physick on different constitutions will have different operations; that may kill one which doth but cure another. p.88.29.

Men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs

designs before God never think they have humane strength enough to carrie their work on, seem it never so plausible to the people : what cannot bee justified in Law and Religion had need to bee fortified with Power.

pag. 93. line 16.

Inconstancie attend's all mindes engaged in violent motions.

p. 93. 22.

In vain do men think to build their Pietie on the ruines of Loialtie. Nor can those confederations bee durable, when subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance under pretens of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

94. 14.

All Reason and true policie will teach subjects, that their chiefeest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to anie Partie.

p. 94. 25.

*Som men* have so much of the serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Doves simplicitie.

p. 95. 6.

Ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the vulgar credulitie : for, by such politick and seemingly-pious stratagems they think to keep the populacie fast to their Parties under the terror of perjurie.

p. 97. 27.

No after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without the consent of the Prince, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or Man's Law, can bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolv or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all subject's consciences both to God and their Prince.

p. 98. 5.

Illegal waies seldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties. Therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and design intended.

p. 99. 31.

Unjust



Unjust it is, both in the eie of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements. p. 103. 9.

The worst effects of open hostilitie com short of the designs of the stratagems and conflicts of Malice, which by falsities seek to oppress the Truth, and by jealousies to supplie the defect of real causses. p. 107. 5.

A good King can more willingly lose his Crowns then his Credit : nor are his Kingdoms so dear to him as his Reputation and Honor. Those must have a period with his life : but these may survive to a glorious kinde of immortalitie, when hee is dead and gon : a good name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie. p. 107. 6.

When our eies are blinded with the mists of suspitions, wee are soon misled into the percpices of actions. p. 107. 24.

A Good Prince is too conscous to his own affecti-  
ons toward the generalitie of his people, to suspect  
theirs to him. p. 108. 21.

The sens of the injuries don unto his subjects is as  
sharp, as those don to a Prince himself. p. 109. 3.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then rule over  
them ; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which  
is but My Right, as of their happiness. p. 109. 23.

I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die ma-  
nie deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to  
betraie My own just Rights & Sovereigntie. p. 109. 29.

Some look so much at the goodnes of the end pro-  
pounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the  
means used, nor the depth of the mischief plotted and  
intended. p. 111. 31.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was  
to redress what I saw in reason was either don or advi-  
sed amiss. p. 115. 5.

The

The noif and oftentation of Libertie, an ufual artifice to withdraw peoples affections from their Prince to innovateing designs. *p. 115. 24.*

Libertie, in the popular fenſ, is, to do what everie man liketh beſt. *p. 115. 26.*

The divineſt libertie is to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion. *p. 115. 30.*

The bounds of the Laws good men count their Ornament and Protection: others their manacles and Oppreſſion. *p. 116. 12.*

It is not juſt anie man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth it's rule and direction; loſeing juſtly his ſafetie, while hee ſeek's an unreaſonable Libertie. *p. 116. 15.*

They are the beſt preſervers of true Liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiousneſs againſt, or beyond the Laws. *p. 116. 19.*

It is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould bee really tender of their fellow-ſubjects Liberties, who have the hardineſs to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints againſt all Laws both divine and humane. *p. 116. 24.*

Proud and arrogant activitie ſeek's to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a Faction, or ſchiſm. *p. 117. 2.*

Never were anie Princes more Glorious, then thoſe, whom God hath ſuffered to bee tried in the fornace of Afflictions by their injurious Subjects. *p. 118. 4.*

'Tis no wonder, if men not fearing God ſhould not honor their King. *p. 118. 24.*

God hath graven ſuch characters of divine autoritie and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. *p. 118. 30.*

The pride of thoſe that ſtudie Novelties can hardly allow former times anie ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſs. *p. 121. 11.*

Slight

Slight and easie is that Legerdemane, which will serv  
to delude the Vulgar. pag. 126. line 21.

No men are prone to bee greater Tyrants, and more  
rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their il-  
legal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly  
least disposed to the obedience of lawful Constitutions;  
and whose licentious humors most pretended conscien-  
tious Liberties. p. 126. 27.

The advantage of Error consist's in noveltie and va-  
riety, as Truths in unitie and constancie. p. 128. 29.

A King is entrusted by God and the Laws with the  
good both of Church and State. 130. 1.

Use, the great arbitrator of words and master of  
lauguage. p. 132. 21.

Faction and Confusion, Emulation and Contempts  
are prone to arise among equals in power and fun-  
ction. p. 135. 26.

Inconstancie a great prejudice against Noveltie.  
p. 137. 17.

It is a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge  
upon the Function the faults of times or Persons.  
p. 138. 28.

Secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie,  
Civil Honor, and estate, which Christian Princes have  
annexed to Bishops and Church-men, are but as just re-  
wards of their learning and pietie; enablements to  
works of Charitie and Hospitalitie: and meet strength-  
nings of their Autoritie in point of respect and ob-  
servance. p. 139. 1.

Respect and observance in peaceful times is hardly  
paid to anie governors by the measure of their virtues,  
so much as by that of their estates. p. 139. 10.

Povertie and meanness exposeth Governors and their  
Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and  
manners. p. 139. 13.

There

There is an innate principle of vicious opposition in all men against those that seem to reprove or restrain them. p. 139.26.

What I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessarie for all places, and at all times. p. 143.18.

Far better it is to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltie. p. 144.18.

The waie of Treaties is as a retiring from fighting like beasts to arguing like men, whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs. p. 146.26.

It is an office not onely of humanitie, rather to use reason then force; but also of Christianitie to seek peace and ensue it. p. 147.9.

The events of all War by the sword are verie dubious; and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means. p. 147.16.

No' success should enhance the price of Peace. p. 147.20.

Jealousies are not so soon allaiied, as they are raised. p. 148.10.

*Som men* are more afraid to retreat from violent engagements, then to engage: what is wanting in equitie must bee made up in pertinacie. p. 148.11.

Such as have little to enjoy in Peace or lose in War studie to render the verie name of Peace odious and suspected. p. 148.14.

*Som men* have that hight, as to interpret all fair condescendings as arguments of feebleness, and glorie most in an inflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them. p. 149.24.

The highest tide of success will not set a just Prince above a Treatie; nor the lowest ebb below a fight; though



though it is not anie sign of true valor to bee prodigal of men's lives, rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reasons, or to subscribe to other men's.  
pag. 150. line 16.

In the safetie and preservation of the Prince and the Laws all honest men think the welfare of their Countrie doth consist: for and with all which it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.  
p. 155. 21.

Neither shews, nor truth of Pietie are sufficient to dispense with, or expiate the defects of Subject's Dutie and Loialtie to their Prince.  
p. 156. 1.

In War the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.  
p. 157. 27.

Our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefest interest.  
p. 159. 13.

A great miscarriage it is, that popular clamors and furie should bee allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick sense.  
p. 161. 5.

The studie to please some Parties injure's all.  
p. 161. 7.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartialitie are sure the best tempers of reforming Counsils and endeavors: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.  
p. 161. 9.

The Vulgar are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies verie much, but not verie long.  
p. 164. 7.

Good Princes, as they own their Kingdoms from God; so they desire to rule for his Glorie and his Church's good.  
p. 165. 25.

As good ends cannot justify evil means: so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions, unless God, by a miracle of Mercie, create light out of darkness, Order out of Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.  
p. 166. 1.

A good Prince wishe's his Subjects had a clear sight into

into his most retired thoughts, where they might discover how they are divided betwixt his love and care, not more to preserv his own Rights, then to procure their Peace and happiness: and extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed. p. 168. 1.

Bees will gather honie, where the Spider suck's poison. p. 168. 10.

Subjects can hardly bee happie, if their Prince bee miserable; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while hee is oppressed. p. 168. 15.

*Som men's* design is like *Absalom's*, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all Reconciliation desperate. p. 168. 18.

With the Vulgar, Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus: as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: as if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world. p. 169. 27.

No secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the Reputation with the Vulgar. p. 170. 3.

The taking away of a Prince's Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of his life and his kingdoms. p. 170. 13.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence. p. 173. 24.

Confidence of an enemy may disarm and overcome him. p. 173. 31.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the State of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger. p. 174. 23.

It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain. 175. 5.

Restraint,

Restraint, though it hath as little of safetie to a Prince,  
yet it hath not more of danger. *pag.178.lin. 20.*

If My captivitie, or death must bee the price of the  
Redemption of the Laws, I grudge not to paie it. *179.16.*

No condition can make a King miserable, which  
carrie's not with it his soul's, his people's, and Poster-  
tie's thralldom. *p.179.18.*

I rather chuse to suffer for My Subjects, then with  
them. *p.179.23.*

I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then con-  
firm manie Tyrants over them, from whom I praie  
God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee. *p.179.26.*

The evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution,  
lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation. *182.6.*

The sins of a Prince have the aggravation of his con-  
dition, the eminencie of his place adding weight to his  
offences. *p.192.22.*

The sins of the People are so far the Princes, as hee  
improveth not the Power given him by God, to his  
Glorie and his subject's good. *p.192.25.*

Som little practice will serv that man, who onely  
seek's to represent a part of Honestie and Honor.  
*p.196.28.*

A King cannot bee so low, but Hee is considerable  
adding weight to that Partie where hee appear's. *196.31.*

Better to swim down a stream, then in vain to strive  
against it. *p.197.5.*

Impossible it is for lines to bee drawn from the cen-  
ter, and not to divide from each other; so much the wi-  
der, by how much they go farther from the point of  
Union. *p.197.12.*

Such as wil adventure on a King (without anie Com-  
mission but that of Will and Power) to take his Person  
into their custodie, must not bee thought over-  
modest or timorous to carrie on anie design they have  
a minde to. *p.198.11.*

Power

Power is above all Rule, Order, and Law. p.199.16

Wee are much more happie to bee subject to the known Laws then to the various wils of anie men, seem they never so plausible at first. p.201.1.

Vulgar compliance with anie illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grow's wearie of it self, and end's in a refractorie fullness: People's rebounds are often in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes. p.201.4.

The waies of Peace consist not in the divided wils of Parties, but the joynt and due observation of the Laws.

p.202.14

Sins expose a people to God's justice, their riches to other's injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion. p.202.27.

Wee must not measure a Cause by the success; nor a mans judgment of things, by his misfortunes.

p.204.7.

A Prince that hath begun, and spent som years of discretion in the experience of troubles, and exercise of Patience, hath an advantage of wisdom above most Princes.

p.204.15.

Pietie and all virtues both Moral, and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, in troubles, as trees set in winter, then in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor; or to bee contented onely with som leavs, and withering formalities of them, without anie real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good, for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

p.204.19.

Flatterers are as inseparable from prosperous Princes, as flies from fruit in summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drive's awaie.

p.205.7.



I had rather you should bee *Charls le Bon* then *le Grand* good then great. p.205.11.

The best Government, and highest Sovereigntie a Prince can attein to, is to bee subject to God, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in his heart. p.205.25.

The true glorie of Princes consist's in advancing God's Glorie, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Church's good: also in the dispensation of civil Power with Justice and Honor to the publick peace. p.205.29.

A Prince ought so to order affairs in point of Power, that hee need not to fear or flatter anie Faction. For, if ever hee stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, hee is undon. The Serpent will devour the Dove: Hee may never expect less of Loialtie, Justice, or Humanitie, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwaies made God's: under the colors of pietie, ambitious policies march, not onely with greater securitie, but applaus, as to the populacie. Hee may hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but hee shall feel they have *Esaus* hands. p.208.2.

The settled Laws of the Kingdom are the most excellent Rules a Prince can govern by. p.209.17.

Ingenuous Libertie consist's in the enjoiment of the fruits of industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which subjects themselves have consented. p.209.26.

A Princes Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there beeing nothing worf then Legal Tyrannie. p.210.4.

I cannot learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick interest, and the good of the Communitie. p.211.021.

A Prince ought seriously to consider the former Re-  
al or objected miscarriages of his Predecessor, which  
might occasion troubles, that hee may avoid them.

p.211.11.

A Prince ought not to repose so much upon anie  
mans single Counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in man-  
ageing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of  
Religion and Justice) as to create in himself, or others,  
a diffidence of his own judgment, which is likely al-  
waies to bee more constant and impartial to the inte-  
rests of his Crown and Kingdom, then anie mans.

p.211.14.

A Prince must beware of exasperateing anie Factions  
by the crossness and asperitie of *som mens* Passions, hu-  
mors, or private opinions, imploied by Him, ground-  
ed onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which  
are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion. p.211.22.

Favors and rewards must bee distributed, to all men  
by the Prince with an equal eie, and impartial hand, as  
Hee finde's them for their real goodness both in abili-  
ties and fidelitie worthie & capable of them. p.212. 16.

As a Prince need's no palliations for anie Designes  
(as other men) so Hee ought to studie really to exceed,  
in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, pie-  
tie and virtue towards the People; even all those men,  
that make the greatest nois and ostentations of Religi-  
on: so Hee shall neither fear anie detection (as they  
do who have but the face and mask of goodness)  
nor shall Hee frustrate the just expectations of his peo-  
ple: who cannot in Reason promise themselves so  
much good from anie subject's Novelties, as from the  
virtuous constancie of their King. p.213.14.

None are greater Oppressors of the estates, Liberties,  
and consciences of the People then those men, that  
entitle themselves the Patrons and Vindicators of them,  
onely to usurp Power over them. p.213.31.

The

The sin and follie of the people will sufficiently punish them in due time. p. 214.5.

When ever Acts of indemnitie and Oblivion shall bee desired and accepted, let them bee granted, not onely as Acts of State-policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie and Choise. p. 214.17

Parliaments, in their right constitution with freedom and Honor, wil never injure or diminish the greatness of the King; but will rather bee as enterchangings of Love, Loialtie, and confidence between a Prince and his People. p. 217.17.

The Publick interest consist's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People. p. 218. 1.

Wee must not starve our selves, becaus some have surfeited on wholsom food. p. 218. 7.

A Crown is not worth takeing up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonorable and irreligious terms. p. 218. 16.

The Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion will not long serve to hide some men's deformities. p. 220. 9.

Religion to their God, and Loialtie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both the sin and infelicitie of the Subject. p. 220. 16.

There are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes. p. 221. 23.

The envie or emnities of some men make's their own lives seem deadly to them, while the Prince enjoye's anie part of His. p. 222. 1.

A King live's in nothing temporal so much, as in the love, and good will of his people. p. 223. 13.

No Law of God or man invest's Subjects with anie Power of Judicature without their Sovereign, much less against Him. p. 225. 20.

Some men must pretend Justice to cover their perjurie. p. 225. 25.

Nothing make's mean Spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors,

Superiors, then this, the Guilt of their unjust usurpation. p.226.7.

No Concessions of a Prince can ever satisfie, or abate the covetous Ambition of *some men*. p.226.20.

Kings are exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either men, or Devils which love confusion. p.227.5.

God will not suffer those men long to prosper in their Babel, who build it with the Bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings. p.227.9.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselvs. p.227.12.

God will not suffer them to go unpunished, whose confederacie in sin is their onely securitie. p.227.25.

The sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of My Destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against Mee. p.229.18.

Good Subjects know how to excuse the Princes failings, as a man, and yet to retein and paie their dutie to Him as their King; there beeing no Religious necessitie bindeing anie Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes. p.229.25.

They cannot hope long to enjoie their thumbs & toes, who have, under pretent of pareing others nailes, been so cruel as to cut of their chiefeft strength. p.230.9.

Those undertakings of men are manie times lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applaus of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous Windes, which oft fill the sails of Pirats, do not justifie their Piracie and Rapine. p.231.12.

I look upon it, with infinite more content, and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land,



The Freedom and Honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the just Libertie of My Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success, over-born them all. p.231.18.

It is verie strange that Mariners can finde no other means to appeas the storm themselvs have raised but by drowning their Pilot.

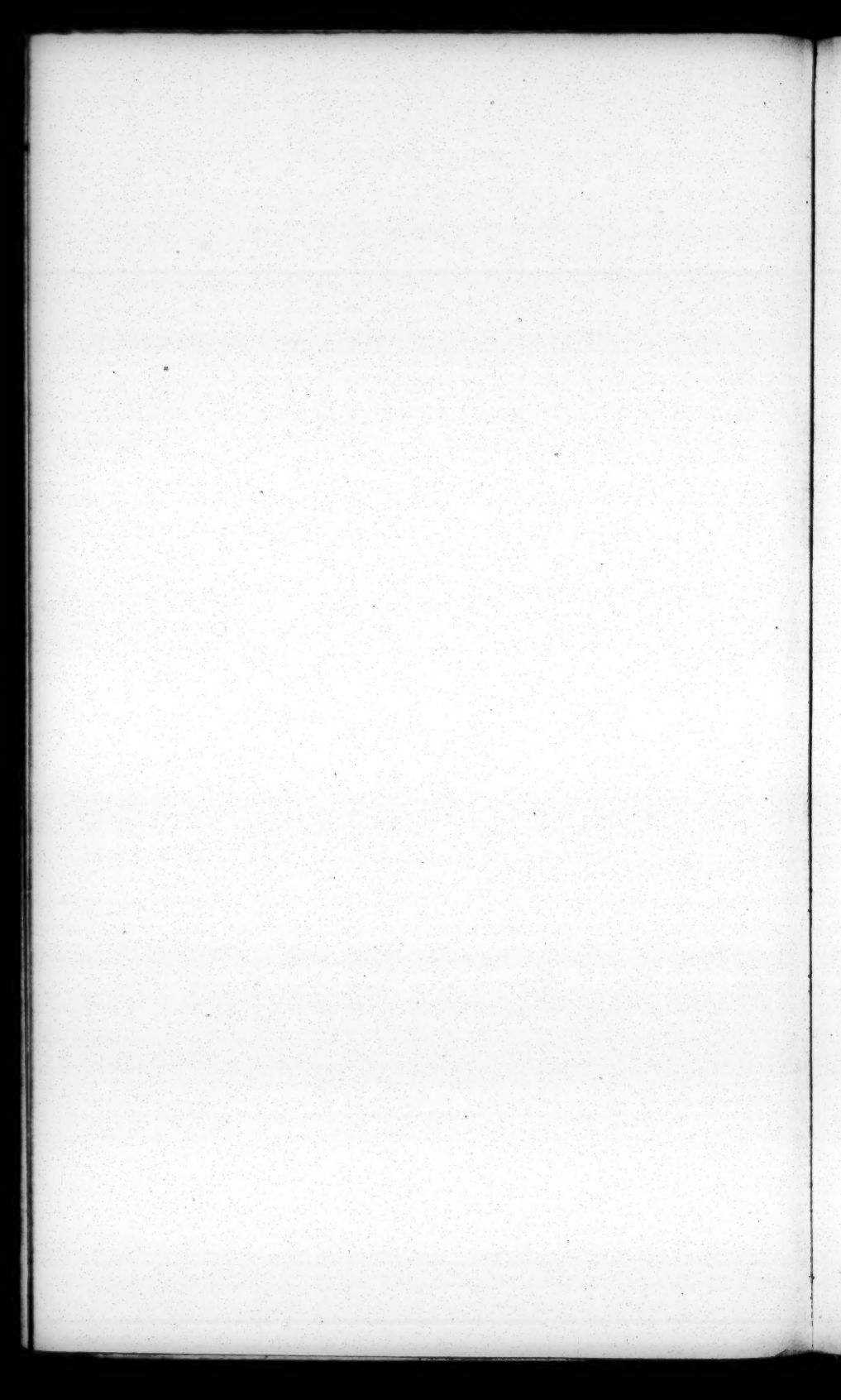
p.233.11

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